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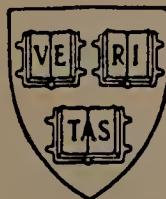






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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE Department of the Classics recognizes in this, the sixty-fourth volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, two generous benefactions to the University for the use of the Department.

Carl Newell Jackson (1875–1946), A. B. Harvard 1898, was Eliot Professor of Greek Literature from 1937 to 1943. When his estate came to Harvard in 1955, the Department of the Classics voted to use the income for three purposes: to bring to Harvard each year a young English or continental scholar; to give subventions for scholarly research and publication; and to provide that a lectureship be established, to be called the Carl Newell Jackson Lectureship, the lectures to be published in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

The first series of Jackson Lectures was given by the Director of the British School at Rome, John Bryan Ward-Perkins, on April 11th and 12th, 1957, with the title "Etruria and Rome". The second series was given by the Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, Sir Ronald Syme, on February 10th and 11th, 1958, with the title "Livy and Augustus". These lectures form the first two articles in this volume.

Professor Walter B. McDaniel, A. B. Harvard 1893, Professor of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania (1909–1937), presented his collection of antiquities to Harvard University in 1943 with the request that it be installed in the Smyth Classical Library and be called, in memory of his wife, the Alice Corinne McDaniel collection. He had formed this collection to illustrate Roman private life and the survival of ancient beliefs in modern Italy. He later presented the sum necessary to build a display cabinet, and in 1944 and following years presented a capital fund, the income from which was to be used to purchase further objects for the collection. In 1949 he presented a second fund for the purchase of books for the Classical Library. Both of these funds are also named in memory of his wife. The present volume contains a catalogue of the ancient lamps in Professor McDaniel's own collection and a description of a Phlyax vase purchased in 1957 from the income of the first of the two funds.

The remaining articles in this volume have been contributed by present or former graduate students at Harvard, including a present member of the Department, in accordance with the Department's

policy of publishing primarily studies by instructors or graduate students in Harvard University, while also welcoming contributions from other sources.

The *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* are published by authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Their publication has long been aided by a fund subscribed by the Class of 1856 and more recently by part of the income from the bequest, mentioned above, of Professor Carl Newell Jackson, who served for many years as one of the editors.

MASON HAMMOND

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*Editorial Committee*

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# THE PROBLEM OF ETRUSCAN ORIGINS

## SOME THOUGHTS ON HISTORICAL METHOD

BY JOHN BRYAN WARD-PERKINS

THE debate on the origin of the Etruscans may be said to have been launched by the Augustan historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was the first to criticize the accepted belief that the Etruscans were immigrants from the North Aegean or from Asia Minor, and to claim that they were, on the contrary, an indigenous Italian people. Today, after nearly two millennia of intermittent discussion, we are no nearer to an agreed solution. The currently fashionable theory is one that would have met with the whole-hearted approval of Dionysius himself. It finds its most lucid and persuasive exponent in Professor Pallottino, who, while admitting the manifold external contributions to the make-up of the historical Etruscans, maintains that these foreign elements were all, in their varying degrees, incidental to what was, in essence, a developing native tradition. The resulting civilization betrays its mixed origins. But the mixture took place on Italian soil; and the native ingredient, in terms of parent stock, language, beliefs, and material civilization, was sufficiently homogeneous, the pattern of development sufficiently uniform, to justify the claim that the Etruscans and their civilization are essentially of Italian origin.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of the present article (which reproduces the substance, though not the form, of two lectures, the Carl Newell Jackson lectures, given at Harvard in April 1957 under the auspices of the Department of Classics) is not to scrutinize in detail this or any other theory of Etruscan origins; still less is it to press the claims of any particular answer to a problem that cannot hope to find a definitive solution on the evidence at present available. It is rather to offer some general comment on the terms in which the problem may usefully be discussed, and to suggest that some of the difficulties most commonly encountered may be the result of ambiguities in the methods of approach normally adopted, rather than be inherent in the nature of the problem itself. Such an enquiry can hardly escape being coloured by the writer's own personal beliefs and prejudices; but it will have achieved nothing, if these are allowed to obscure the more general study of the principles involved.

To this more general enquiry (which was the subject of the first of the two lectures in question) are appended some remarks on an aspect of Etruscan research which has been very largely neglected by modern workers, but which has, none the less, a great deal to offer to the methodical student. Except in isolated instances, and those for the most part in the northern districts of Etruria, topographical studies have made regrettably little progress since the days of George Dennis. Recently the British School has been engaged in a programme of field-work in Southern Etruria, which is yielding a surprising amount of fresh information about the pattern of Etruscan settlement, its distribution and its communications. The second half of this paper offers some observations on the relevance of this material to the question of Etruscan origins.

## I

The problem of Etruscan origins is, in no small degree, one of our own creation. This is not to say that there are not still many important questions of fact that await elucidation; but many of the seeming discrepancies in the evidence are apparent rather than real. The Etruscans have had the misfortune of coming into view at the awkward borderline between prehistory and history, and this has often led to quite unnecessary confusion in formulating the enquiry, a confusion that has extended both to method and to terminology. In both of these aspects, the problem merits a more careful approach.

First of all, method. Because the Etruscan civilization took shape on the borderlines of prehistory and history, any enquiry into Etruscan origins is bound to take place at the meeting-place of a number of related disciplines. The traditional approach is, of course, that of the historian, through classical literature. To this traditional, historical approach, two centuries of excavation in the cities and cemeteries of Etruria have added several others, the most important being the linguistic and the archaeological. We may now study the Etruscans not only through the eyes of classical historians but also through their language, as recorded in a very large number of inscriptions, or through the material remains of their civilization. Yet another possible approach is through their skeletal remains, either through the measurement of physical characteristics or, more recently, and perhaps with greater promise of useful results, through the determination of the blood-group to which a particular specimen belonged.<sup>2</sup> There is, in fact, no lack of converging evidence. But what is often forgotten is that each of these

disciplines has its own objectives, its own methods, and its own limitations; and it is inviting trouble to apply the results indiscriminately from one field to another. The classic instance of that mistake is the theory, long and widely held but now universally abandoned by all serious scholars, that the Latins were the descendants of an Indo-European, Latin-speaking people who reached North Italy from across the Alps, already in the early Bronze Age a fully-formed racial entity. This theory was based almost entirely on the supposed resemblances between certain features of early Rome and the remains of the so-called "terramara" people, established many centuries before in the area of Modena and Parma. As it turns out, we now know that even the archaeological basis of the theory was mistaken; the supposed archaeological resemblances between the two cultures simply do not stand up to critical examination. However, quite apart from this error of fact, the whole principle of the argument was wrong. One cannot possibly argue that because two people share features of a common material culture, they must speak a common language; or that because they speak a common language, they must belong to the same race. Put in such terms, the fallacy is obvious; and yet so much of the past discussion about early Etruscan and Roman history has been based on assumptions of precisely this sort that it is worth while glancing briefly at the various disciplines involved, and noting something of the characteristics and limitations of each.

A great deal of the argument has in the past turned, and still continues to turn, on the nature and affinities of the Etruscan language; and if these could once be established beyond question, they would undoubtedly constitute a very important step forward towards the solution of the Etruscan problem. Unfortunately this is a subject upon which there is still a strong division of competent opinion. On the one hand, there are those who believe the Etruscan language to be an exotic intruder, representing a language (or group of languages) formerly current in Asia Minor (or possibly in the southeastern Balkans), of which the only other surviving monument is the well-known inscription from Lemnos; it owes its presence in Italy to a migration, about which there was still a live tradition when Herodotus wrote in the fifth century B.C., describing the Etruscans as, by origin, Lydians. This view, which still has a wide following, is now challenged by a number of Italian scholars, whose study of (among other things) Italian place-names leads them to the conclusion that, so far from being an exotic intruder, the Etruscan language is rather a native survival from a pre-Indo-European phase of Italian prehistory. In the face of such a divergence of qualified opinion,

those who, like the writer, have no competence in the field of comparative linguistics have no alternative but to suspend judgment. What, however, the veriest novice in linguistics is entitled to stress is that even an agreed conclusion as to the nature and relationships of the Etruscan language would not necessarily carry with it an answer to other equally important aspects of the Etruscan problem. Changes of language are usually the more or less direct result of changes in the political or cultural scene; but the way these changes come about may be very varied. The new language may be imposed from above by a politically or culturally dominant minority, as Greek and Latin came between them to dominate the greater part of the ancient world, and were themselves subsequently displaced from a large part of it by Arabic; or it may come up from beneath, as Anglo-Saxon absorbed and eventually conquered Norman French. In either case, the result is usually something of a compromise. Only where the disparity between the invader and the invaded, the colonist and the colonized, is very great (as, for example, in the case of the English and French settlements in North America) is there likely to be a clear-cut victory for either side. When we talk about the Etruscans speaking the "Etruscan" language, we are stating a fact about the historical Etruscans; our statement means no more than that this is the language which we find the literate inhabitants of Etruria speaking and writing in the seventh century, when first they emerge into the full light of history. So far there is no problem of terminology; that arises only when we extend our researches back into the preceding centuries. We may, for example, wish to project the term "Etruscan" backwards into prehistory in our search for the origins of some particular aspect of the historical scene, be it language, race, political organization, religious belief, or material culture. But we must, in that case, beware of the verbal confusion that will almost certainly arise when we come to relate our particular findings to the larger pattern. The further afield we stray in our exploration of the headwaters of the stream of historical Etruscan development, the more likely we are to reach some point of confluence between the constituent tributaries, above which the familiar terminology will no longer be applicable, still less freely interchangeable between one territory and the next. To disregard this simple fact is to commit the same error as those early geographers to whom any large river in central Africa could only be the Nile; and if our map of Etruscan prehistory is still liberally strewn with the modern equivalent of "Here be Dragons", it is the result very largely of the neglect of just such elementary precautions of method and of terminology.

In short, the origin of the Etruscans and the origin of the Etruscan language are two related but distinct enquiries. Only if we define the Etruscans as the speakers of the Etruscan language do the two necessarily coincide; and this is a definition which, on reflection, probably few would be prepared to adopt.

This is not to say that the historian and the philologist may not in fact reach the same answer. One of the principal attractions of the Herodotean answer to the question of Etruscan origins is precisely the fact that it does appear to offer a simple and rational explanation for the presence in Italy of both the people and their language: like the Greeks of south Italy or the Phoenicians in the west, the original Etruscans were an immigrant people, and the Etruscan language was the native tongue of these immigrants, which they brought with them and imposed on the territory that they conquered. Herodotus identified the immigrants as Lydians; other writers were less explicit, referring to them as Pelasgians. Lydians or Pelasgians, the theory of a people immigrant from the northern or eastern fringes of the Greek world had the merit of seeming to explain the known historical and linguistic facts in simple, readily intelligible terms, and it appears to have been generally accepted by antiquity until it was called in question by Dionysius. This is not the place to reopen the hackneyed discussion on the respective historical merits of what, for brevity, we may refer to as the Herodotean point of view and that of Dionysius. Among modern critics, there are those who will give greater weight to the critical methods adopted by Dionysius than the possibly somewhat naive reporting of his sources; others will continue to prefer a tradition that has at least the merit of being four centuries nearer than Dionysius to the events that it purports to describe. Both sides will almost certainly be swayed in their choice by outside considerations — and rightly so, since only the most obstinate believer in the essential worthlessness of any but literary evidence will maintain that the matter can be resolved in terms of the written sources alone.

Our present concern is not with the respective merits of this or that particular tradition but with the more general question of the literary tradition as a whole, its applicability to the problem of Etruscan origins, its reliability, and, no less important, its limitations. The latter were considerable. In the first place, the great majority of the surviving authorities for the earlier history of the Etruscans are writers who were dealing with events as remote from themselves as the crusades are from our own day. By the time of Varro or the Emperor Claudius, or of Dionysius himself, the Etruscans were already a matter of antiquarian

research. These writers naturally had at their disposal a great many earlier sources that have since been lost. But their standards of historical criticism were not ours; and although the literary record undoubtedly contains a lot of valuable information about this early period, a great deal of it is seen through a veil of interpretation, misunderstanding, and, at times, plain invention. What is more, it derives almost exclusively from a hostile tradition, that of their rivals and enemies, the Greeks and Romans. What a distorting mirror that can be is obvious enough in the case of a writer such as Livy, who is writing about periods for which we have a good deal of other evidence; not so obvious, perhaps, when one is dealing with fragments from the lost works of one of the early Greek historians. The extent of classical prejudice in such matters is well exemplified in the early records of the Etruscan "thalassocracy". The Etruscans figure in classical literature predominantly as pirates and freebooters. But as Pallottino points out, their reputation for piracy and lawlessness on the high seas appears to have taken shape between the time of Homer and that of the "Homeric" hymns, and was quite clearly a product of the intense commercial and territorial rivalry between the Etruscans and the Greek traders and colonists. There is no reason to believe that the Etruscans were any more (or less) pirates than the Greek themselves, or the Phoenicians, the two sea-powers with whom they shared dominion over the western Mediterranean during much of the first half of the first millennium B.C. Now and then it happens that through the pages of the Greek historians we do catch a glimpse of how things must have looked to their adversaries — as in the story of Dorieus' attempt to plant a Greek colony at Cinyps within the Carthaginian territory of Tripolitania; or that of the Phocaean attempt to settle in Corsica. On the whole, however, the attitude of the Greek writers is vividly characterized by the legend that the decisive victory of the Syracusans and their allies over the Carthaginians at Himera took place on the same day as the battle of Salamis, two crowning mercies in the struggle of Greece against the forces of the barbarian. To detach our sympathies and to view the Etruscans in historical perspective, we have to make the same conscious effort as we do in trying to view Marathon or Salamis through Persian eyes.

And finally one has to recall a limitation that applies to a great deal of ancient and later historical writing, namely its preoccupation with political events. The Greek scientific spirit was, of course, profoundly interested in other aspects of man's environment and achievement. But the expression of that interest was predominantly literary, and in its historical aspects it was almost inevitably couched in the language and

coloured by the outlook of the conventional literary historian. If the account of Etruscan origins given by Herodotus (one of the most liberal and widely interested of Greek historians) fails to carry conviction as it stands, it is not least because it tries to explain in terms of political events a complex phenomenon, involving questions of language, culture, and race, with which the contemporary modes of historical expression were not really equipped to grapple.

The student of classical literature, then, like the comparative philologist, cannot hope to resolve, unaided, the problem of Etruscan origins. What about the physical anthropologist and the geneticist? Their task is the determination of racial types by the classification of distinctive physical or inherited characteristics. An earlier generation was concerned principally with the measurement of skulls; today interest centres on the determination of blood-groups. What has to be remembered, however, is that, even if these methods are scientifically sound and can be applied to the sort of remains that are likely to be available, they are very often helpless to provide the sort of information that the historian wants to have. A society living in isolation under uniform conditions will, it is true, tend to produce a uniform physical type and a stable blood-group pattern; the archaeologist of the future may very well find skeletal remains most helpful in interpreting, for example, the archaeological history of nineteenth-century Australia. But most normal societies do not live in isolation; there is a constant process of interchange and mutual assimilation, and in an extreme case the concept of race may cease to have any practical meaning whatsoever. One can usefully speak of the American nation, the American way of life, the American branch of the English language — but not, as yet, of the American race. Imagination boggles at the thought of the excavator of the future faced with the skeletal remains from the cemeteries of twentieth-century New York. Whatever dictators may like to pretend, under normal conditions of give and take race is often little more than a useful classificatory device, a handy way of expressing the physical norm within a given society. One certainly cannot exclude the possibility of ethnically homogeneous groups of people in late prehistoric Italy, and one can envisage conditions (e.g. the presence of a compact invading group from some completely different part of the ancient world) in which methods such as blood-grouping might have an important contribution to make to the study of Etruscan origins. But equally certainly one would be unwise to assume that such groups could be fitted neatly into the patterns revealed by archaeology or by the study of language. To disregard this elementary precaution is to invite the sort of error that has led in the past

to such profoundly misleading concepts as the "megalithic people" or the "Latin race".

And so, finally, to the archaeologist. His business is different again, something which, for want of a better word, one may call "culture". By culture in the archaeological sense we mean the material and tangible manifestations of a particular way of life; and although a particular culture may well coincide with a particular race, language, or nationality, there is in fact no necessary connection between any of them. A change of language, for example, is very often the result of events that will be reflected also by substantial changes in material equipment. But it need not be so, still less the converse. So, too, the incautious archaeologist may be tempted to seize upon the appearance in a given context of some new and distinctive object, such as a new type of sword or brooch, and to equate it with the movement of peoples or with some change in the particular pattern. Of course, he would very often be right; but he would just as often be wrong. The cultural diffusion-pattern of the typewriter or the television set depends upon an infinitely more subtle balance of material relationships and ideological needs than can be expressed in any bald equation of race, language, or belief; and although in less complex societies the terms of the problem may be simpler, the principle is unaffected.

It should be clear by now that in asking the question "Who were the Etruscans?" we may really be asking several related but quite distinct questions. We may be asking what if any movements of peoples were involved in the make-up of the historical Etruscan people: were they indigenous, were they immigrants, or were they perhaps a mixture of both? Then, again, we may be asking not about the Etruscan people but about their language: was the Etruscan language indigenous, or was it brought from elsewhere, and if so, where from and in what circumstances? Or again, the Etruscan culture: the culture of the historic Etruscans was no doubt in itself a unique and developing phenomenon; but it must have been compounded of and developed from a number of earlier cultural strains, and we may well enquire what were these strains, and which, if any, were dominant in the finished product. Or finally we may be thinking of the political conditions which we find established in seventh-century Etruria: what, in a word, were the origins of the historical Etruscan League?

The answers given by archaeologists to these questions may be said to fall, broadly speaking, into three groups, to which Pallottino has given the convenient labels of the Oriental, the Northern, and the Autochthonous theories. The names are self-explanatory. The first two

theories are alike in attributing the principal agency in the formation of the Etruscan culture to settlers from elsewhere, although neither would for a moment deny that the immigrants settled down beside and eventually fused with the peoples already established in central Italy. In neither case is it necessary to assume that the Etruscan language was that of the immigrants, although this is, of course, a convenient explanation of the linguistic facts, and the connection is, in consequence, very often so stated or assumed. In contrast to these two theories of immigrant origins, the Autochthonists, although fully prepared to admit that at the time of the formation of the historical Etruscan culture there may have been outside influences at work both from the north and from the eastern Mediterranean, are not prepared to admit that there were any substantial ethnic or linguistic changes from the previous period. To the Autochthonist the culture of the historical Etruscans may have been, indeed it certainly was, a new and composite phenomenon, emerging as the result of outside stimuli; but the Etruscan people and the Etruscan language are part of the prehistoric heritage of central Italy.

It is, inevitably, the differences between these theories that attract attention and invite discussion. What deserves, but does not always receive, equal emphasis is the amount of ground that they have in common. Few scholars nowadays would dispute that, whatever the origins of the Etruscan people or the Etruscan language, the historical Etruscan civilization as we know it took shape on Italian soil; even if the people principally responsible for its formation came from elsewhere, they certainly did not bring the Etruscan culture with them ready-made. On this point at any rate the Autochthonous case, as restated by Pallottino, will find few critics, and the general acceptance of this fact may be regarded as perhaps the most important step forward made in recent years towards an agreed solution of the Etruscan problem.

The notion that the historical Etruscan culture developed on Italian soil does, however, carry with it the same terminological difficulties as those that we have already encountered in discussing the Etruscan language. Pallottino, in his chapter on "The Problem of Etruscan Origins", makes the telling point that, in discussing the genesis of the French nation, we do not think of asking where the French people came from originally; we ask, instead, how the French nation took shape, a process that took place exclusively on French soil; in other words, the discussion is one not about *provenance*, but about formation. That the analogy is perhaps a tendentious one in the context of Etruscan studies

(see below) does not affect its value as an illustration of the sort of complex process involved in the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic formation of what at a later stage we are all prepared to recognize as a self-standing national entity. And our task in studying the formative process is enormously simplified by the fact that in this case the constituent elements are themselves all familiar and readily distinguishable entities. Gauls, Romans, Burgundians, Visigoths, Franks — we know all these peoples by name and character, and we have no particular difficulty in distinguishing and naming the contribution of each towards the finished product. Ethnically and culturally we recognize the French people as an amalgam of all these (and other) elements.<sup>3</sup> Their language, on the other hand, stems from that of one linguistically dominant strain, that of the Roman conquerors of Celtic Gaul; and their name and certain of their institutions are derived from one of the invading Germanic tribes which ultimately secured the political ascendancy over the shattered relics of the Roman province. The French, we can clearly see, are neither Celts, nor Romans, nor Franks; they are the product of a uniquely developing ethnic and cultural continuum.

Thus far the analogy with the Etruscans is sound enough in principle. Unless one is prepared to regard the Etruscans as analogous to the British settlers in Australia, established among, but for all practical purposes independent of, the aboriginal inhabitants, one is bound to accept the fact that some such formative process took place on Italian soil. It is at this point that the position of the Etruscans across the borderline between prehistory and history once more creates a problem of nomenclature. On analysis, it may well prove to be the case that one or other of the prehistoric peoples of central Italy is ethnically or culturally dominant within the make-up of the historical Etruscan people, just as one may not unreasonably regard the Celtic stock (or, to be precise, the amalgamation of Celtic and pre-Celtic elements represented by the historical Gauls) as ethnically dominant in large areas of medieval France. One would not, however, think of referring to the Gauls as "French", and for the same reasons one has to be extremely careful about projecting the term "Etruscan" backwards into the ethnic and cultural prehistory of central Italy. One cannot, on the other hand, altogether exclude it without running the risk of falsifying the historical picture in another way. We have no right to assume that the curtain came neatly down at the end of prehistory and rose again on the historical stage — in other words, to exclude the possibility that there may have been some late prehistoric people so closely equated with the Etruscans that, under identical conditions of historical vision, both would

certainly have been regarded as successive stages of the same developing phenomenon. That is, in fact, precisely the relationship that many would postulate between the Villanovans and the Etruscans. One can to some extent avoid the difficulty by referring to any such hypothetical earlier stages of Etruscan development as "proto-Etruscan"; whatever terminology one adopts, however, it must at all times be made absolutely clear what particular aspect of the historical Etruscan people — its genetic make-up, its language, its beliefs, its material culture, its political institutions — is being so projected backwards upon the prehistoric scene.

Within the specific field of the material remains, can the archaeologist in fact distinguish any such culturally dominant "proto-Etruscan" strain? On this point, unfortunately, no two answers are precisely the same. It is one of the paradoxes of Etruscan research that the divergences of opinion are often widest on what might reasonably be regarded as matters of simply ascertainable fact. Within this diversity of opinion, however, there is also considerably more agreement than the bare statement of the conflicting theories might suggest; and in the present context it is probably more useful to explore this common ground than to focus attention on points of disagreement that can only be resolved, if at all, by further detailed and methodical research.

One of the most important aspects of current archaeological research within the Etruscan field is the shift of attention away from the cemeteries of the dead, which have too long monopolized the resources of the field-worker, towards the cities of the living. There is a great deal of leeway to be made up. But at least, with a beginning of methodical excavation on several inhabited sites, a start has been made, and one cannot doubt that it will lead to a more balanced view of Etruscan achievement.

Symptomatic of the same shift of attention is the growing realization of the importance of the Villanovan contribution to the culture of the historical Etruscans. Whatever may be one's views upon the antecedents of the Villanovans and upon the precise nature of their relation to the Etruscans, one can no longer question that the establishment of the Villanovan culture in central Italy marks a turning point in the material and social development of the peoples established within the region that later became Etruria; and that a great many aspects of that culture were carried forward without any substantial break into the ensuing period.

So long as attention was focused almost exclusively upon the

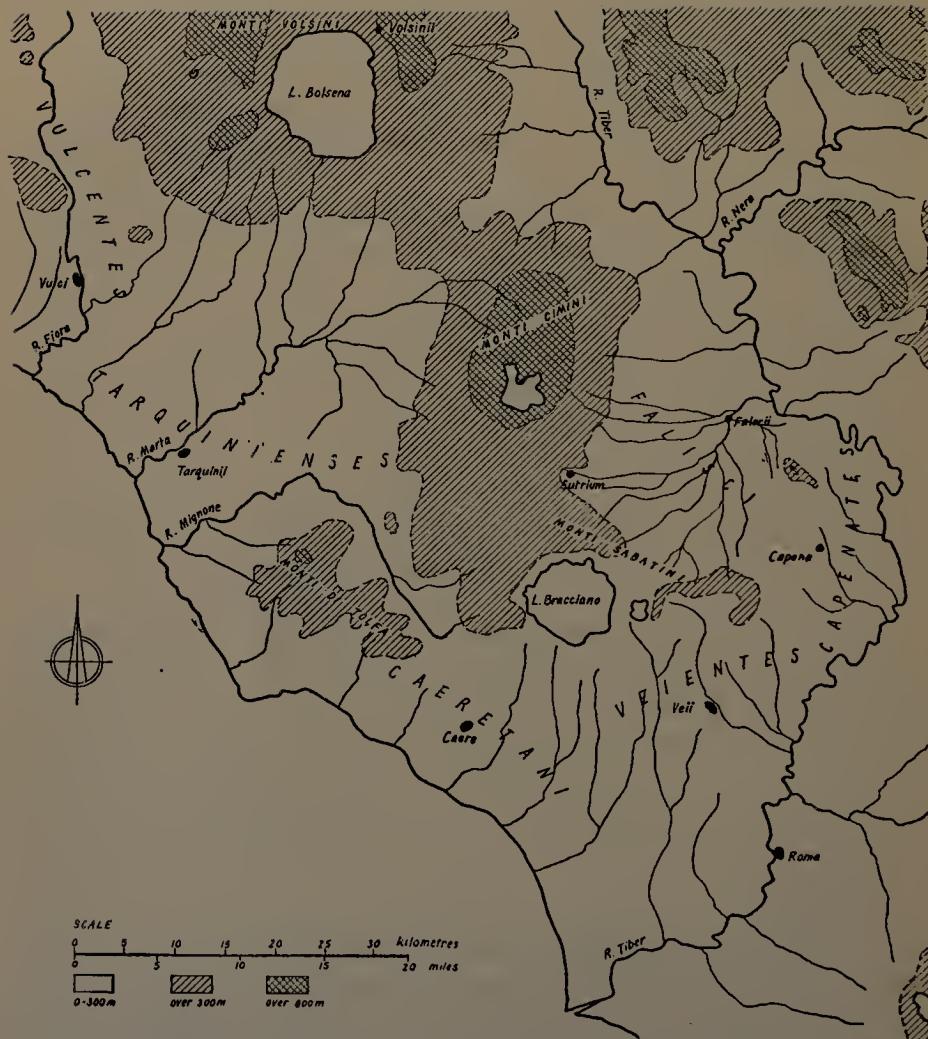


FIG. 1. The cities and territories of southern Etruria  
(Shading represents approximate area of undisturbed forest-land)

cemeteries and upon similarities and differences in grave-furniture and burial-rites, it was the material achievements of the Villanovans that were bound to dominate the picture — their superior metallurgy, their weapons, the fine quality of much of their pottery. Now, however, we are beginning to see that their contribution in the field of social organization was as great, or even greater. We know all too little about the pre-history of central and southern Etruria during the Bronze Age; but all that we do know indicates that it was the home of a backward people, living in small communities or isolated family groups and having little or no share in the prosperity of their more go-ahead neighbours. While we cannot absolutely exclude the possibility that some of the later villages may first have been occupied in Bronze Age times in such regions as, for example, the upper Fiora valley, there is in fact no positive evidence of any such continuity. There is, on the other hand, plenty of evidence to show that many Etruscan sites, including some of the largest and most important of them, were first inhabited in Villanovan times. Sometimes, as at Poggio Buco, the initial settlement was relatively small and was only later enlarged to incorporate the whole area occupied by the Etruscan city.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, as at Tarquinia and again at Veii, it is certain that the whole circuit of the later city was in some sense already included within the area of Villanovan settlement.<sup>5</sup> This is not to say that the whole of this very large area was settled (any more than it was in later times) or that the defences may not at first have been limited to the natural features that had led to the initial selection of the site. But it is quite clear that the broad pattern of settlement that confronts us in historical Etruscan times was already established in the eighth century, and that it was the Villanovans who established it.

In terms of material culture and of social organization, there is, in fact, a very good case for regarding the Etruscan civilization as developing directly and without a break from that of the Villanovans. There were, of course, other influences at work, some derived from Greece and some from the eastern Mediterranean. But both may well have been, as the Greek elements in the Etruscan civilization certainly were, the result of ordinary commercial contacts rather than of settlement. Should we not, therefore, be content to regard the bearers of this Villanovan culture as the effective proto-Etruscans? Although there are features, notably the decidedly oriental character of certain elements of the Etruscan religion, which are difficult to square with such a conclusion, it does on the whole satisfy the archaeological evidence; and since the evidence of the literary sources is admittedly inconclusive, it is tempting to allow archaeology to give the casting vote.

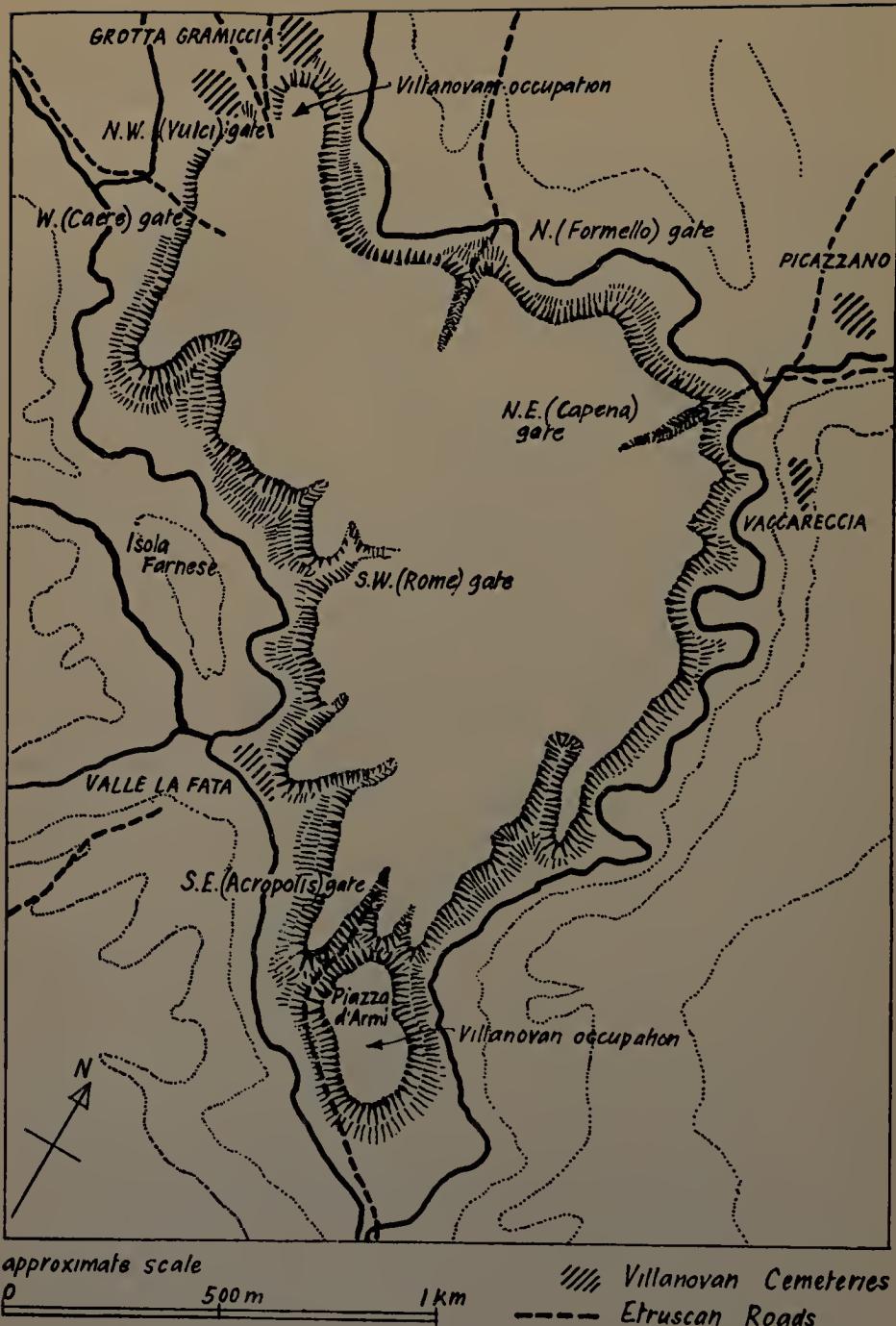


FIG. 2. Location of known Villanovan settlements and cemeteries on the site of the Etruscan city of Veii

It is tempting — but it is dangerous, too. Can we really be sure that archaeology is telling us the whole story? To take a single example from later Italian history: supposing that we were dependent on the evidence of material remains alone, would we ever have guessed that in the eleventh century the Normans conquered, settled in, and for two centuries ruled Sicily and a large part of southern Italy? Surely not. In a great many respects the Normans were far behind the peoples whom they conquered, and they have left remarkably little direct impression on the material remains. As it is, we have plenty of other evidence to show that the Norman genius lay in other fields; above all it was military and administrative. Politically the Normans transformed the territories over which they ruled, and in so doing they created a new and vital cultural environment. The Siculo-Norman civilization is rightly so-called, since it was a product of Norman power and Norman organization. But its cultural roots were not Norman at all; they were Arabic and Byzantine.

There is no need to labour the point. The Normans are a striking but by no means unique example of a people whose impact on history has been out of all proportion to the quality of the material resources with which they were equipped. Archaeology alone, dependent as it is upon material remains, is virtually helpless to detect such a people — how many prehistoric Normans lurk behind the familiar implements and sherds of conventional archaeological classifications? — and yet they are the very stuff of which history is made.

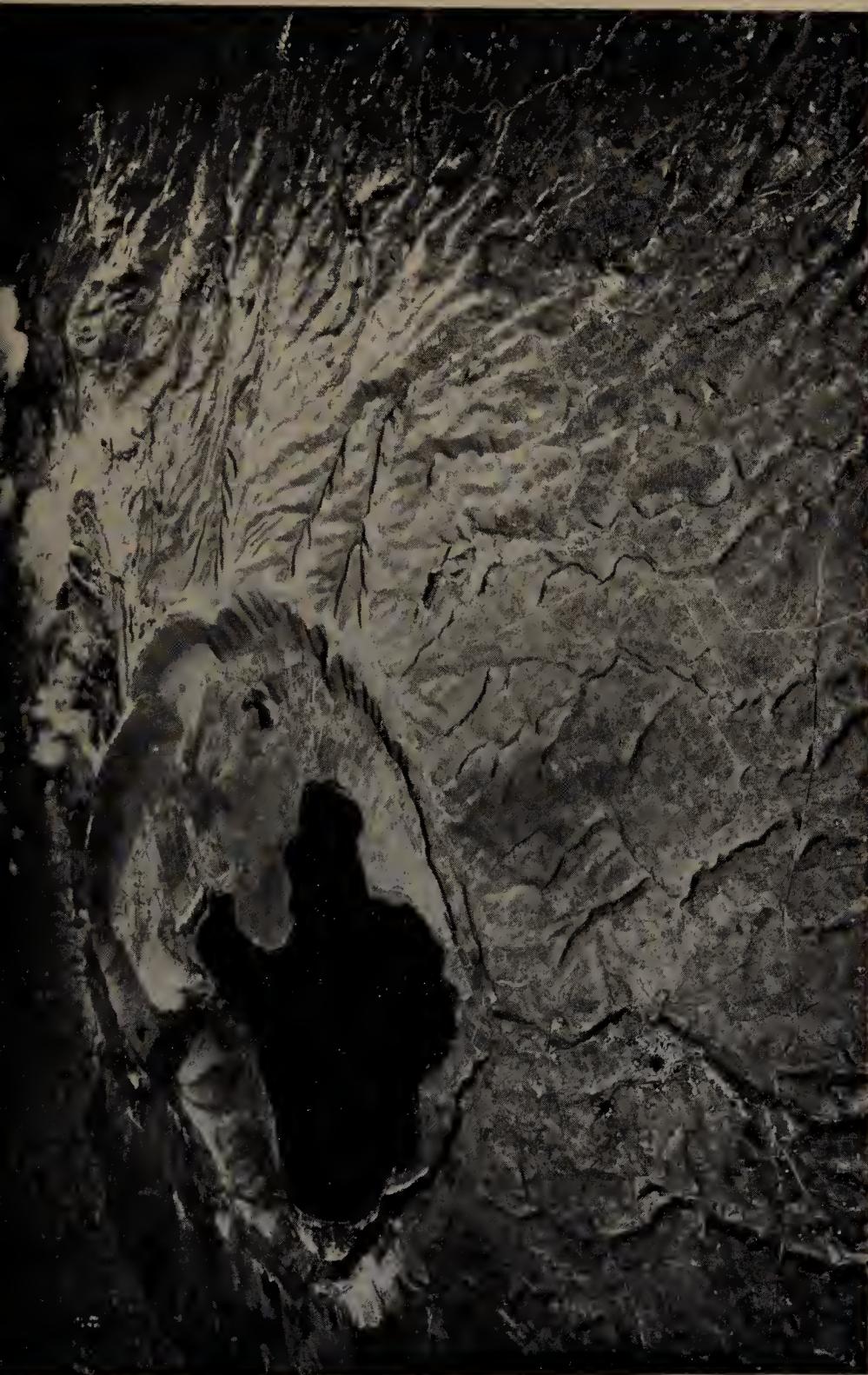
That the Etruscans were just such a people, a numerically small but vigorous military aristocracy, which had arrived from the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps even without its womenfolk, and which had succeeded in establishing itself in central Italy, building upon the structure created by the Villanovans, from whom in turn they borrowed much, and with whom they soon merged to form a single people, this is a hypothesis that would undoubtedly explain a great many of the seeming contradictions in the evidence. That it would need a great deal of careful and minute study, based in part on fresh excavation, before it could be any more than a working hypothesis, and that such a study may in fact have the opposite result of proving it to be mistaken, these are reservations that need to be stated no less clearly. But where so much is still dark, an answer in many ways so satisfactory cannot lightly be dismissed from consideration.

As was stated at the beginning of this article, the writer's purpose is not to urge any particular answer to the question of Etruscan origins;

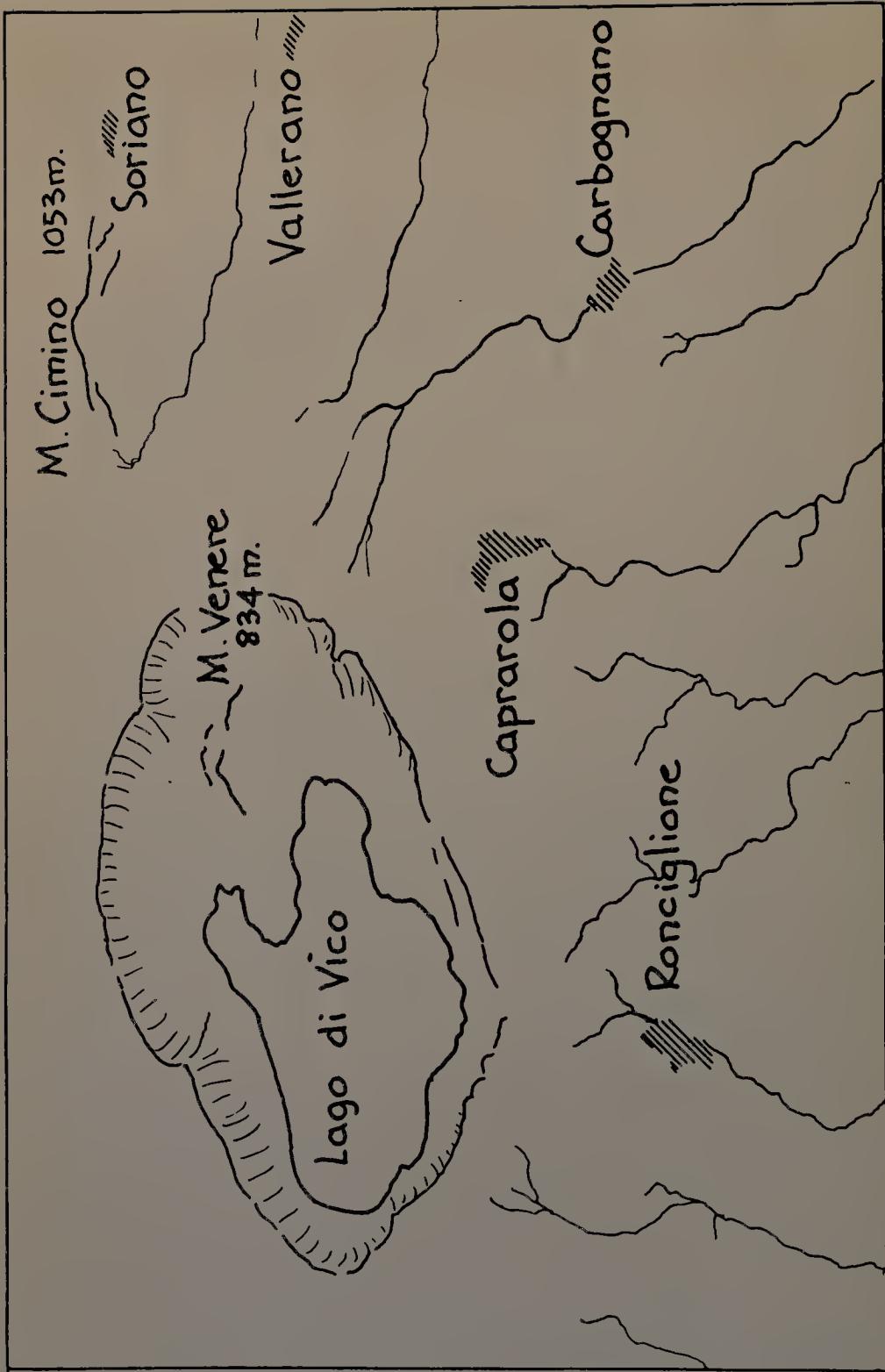
it is to examine the terms within which the problem may usefully be discussed. In the course of our enquiry it has seemed useful to distinguish certain aspects of the problem upon which most of the supporters of the several conflicting theories would nowadays find themselves in broad agreement from certain other aspects where there is still room for a considerable difference of opinion. To the first category, for example, belongs the growing realization that, whatever the historical antecedents of the ruling classes, the material civilization of the historical Etruria is deeply rooted in the later prehistoric past of this same region; and to the second the whole question of the source of the Etruscan language. The possibility that the Etruscans were an immigrant people from the eastern Mediterranean is another topic that is still wide open for discussion. In this case, however, the choice no longer lies between the black and the white of so much past polemic; it has become a question of the detailed historical interpretation of a complex of archaeological and other data, about a very large part of which there would be fairly general agreement from both sides.

## II

What possibilities are there that conclusive fresh data may become available to resolve this latter problem? In default of the finding of an Etruscan Rosetta stone, any fresh evidence is likely to be predominantly archaeological in character; and from the foregoing analysis it might well seem that this is a problem that by its very terms lies largely outside the field of legitimate archaeological speculation. That, however, is perhaps an unduly gloomy conclusion. As an instrument of historical enquiry, archaeology has its limitations; but it would be quite mistaken to imagine that excavation, as hitherto practised in Etruria, has done more than brush the fringes of the problem. It has been restricted almost exclusively to the cemeteries, and even if these had been excavated and published with a great deal more regard to the scientific requirements than has all too often been the case, their message would still be limited largely to the material and artistic possessions and relationships of the persons buried in them, and, to a rather lesser degree, to their religious beliefs. For a picture of the broader historical development of Etruria we need the sort of research that has been devoted to the later prehistoric and protohistoric phases of Scandinavia, Great Britain, the Low Countries, and Germany, based on the minutely detailed excavation of inhabited sites, their successive fortifications, and the vicissitudes of the inhabited areas within them. Even here the sort



Monte Cimino, from the southeast, showing the site of part of the ancient Cimian forest. See diagram on verso for identification of salient features; Sutri lies just off the bottom left-hand corner. (British Crown Copyright Reserved; by permission of the Air Ministry)



of conclusions that can be drawn are bound to lack something of the comfortable precision of the written record. But they are a great advance on any that could be drawn from the cemeteries alone; there can be little doubt that, had the great cities of Etruria received the same attention as has been lavished on Verulamium, Maiden Castle, Colchester, and countless lesser late pre-Roman sites in southern Britain, there would no longer be an Etruscan problem.

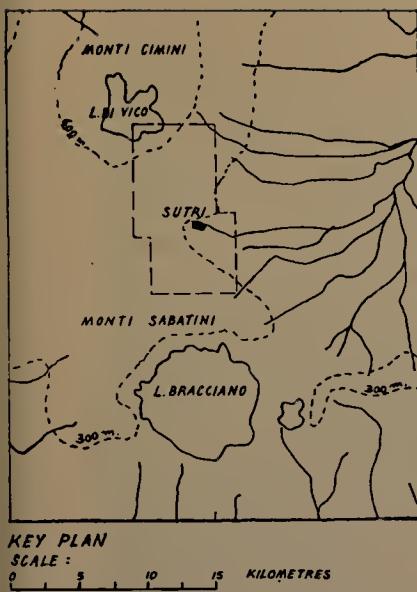
There is, however, yet another line of approach which offers valuable, if less spectacular, results within the same general field of enquiry. This is the method of distribution and of detailed topographical survey, as used to great effect as long ago as 1923 by Cyril Fox in his epoch-making *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, and subsequently applied on a broader canvas in successive editions of his *Personality of Britain*. This too is an archaeological instrument which elsewhere has passed into everyday use, but which has been strangely neglected in central Italy; and the purpose of this final section is to describe a few aspects of the British School at Rome's current programme of field survey in southern Etruria, and to suggest some of the ways in which this may help to define the problems that arise in discussing the early history of Rome's relations with this all-important area.<sup>6</sup>

The Etruscan League was essentially a rather loose confederation of quasi-independent city-states. In the earlier stages of its history it was obviously capable of strong unified action; on this point the fact of the expansion of Etruscan power over a large part of central and northern Italy tells its own story. Like all such confederations, however, it contained the seeds of its own disintegration and decline. Its later history is a melancholy tale of mutual antagonisms and petty bickering, which not even the rising power of Rome was able to dispel. The material remains tell exactly the same story. The veneer of unity is often astonishingly thin, overlying as it does a strong and remarkably persistent tradition of regional diversity.

What emerges very clearly from a detailed study of the nature and distribution of early settlement within the boundaries of the historical Etruria is the fact that this regionalism was a product of geographical conditions no less cogent than those which determined the local rivalries of ancient Greece. This fact is not so immediately apparent to the present-day observer as it is in Greece, because, whereas there the mountains and the seas that divided each little city-state from its neighbours are still today a stark, physical reality, the internal boundaries of ancient Etruria have lost much of their former significance, and have indeed in many cases vanished altogether. At the beginning of the first

millennium B.C., however, very large parts of central and southern Etruria were still covered with primeval forest; and although only certain limited stretches of this forest-land can have been in any real sense of the word impenetrable, it is also quite clear that under primitive conditions it did form a highly effective barrier — one which, taken in conjunction with the difficult, broken character of the ranges of hills which partition the countryside between the lower Tiber valley and the sea, was quite sufficient to break this whole area up into a number of independent or quasi-independent units.

One such barrier was the Ciminian Forest. This great tract of primitive woodland, which survived into historical times, to play an important part in the early wars between Rome and her northern neighbours, covered an area that corresponds roughly with that of the two volcanic ranges of the Monti Cimini, south and east of the modern Viterbo, and the northern spur of the Monti Sabatini, to the north of Lake Bracciano. To the west and northwest of it lay the Etruscan peoples of the Viterbo plain and the upper valley of the River Biedano, while to the east and southeast were the Faliscans, a people which, despite close political and cultural ties with Etruria, was linguistically distinct, speaking and writing an Indo-European dialect that is closely related to Latin. In historic times the two regions were linked by the Via Cassia, which followed the saddle of lower ground that divides the Monti Cimini from the Monti Sabatini, passing beneath the walls of Sutri. Sutri thus occupied a position of great strategic importance,<sup>7</sup> and it seems to have been generally assumed that, like Nepi a few miles to the east, on the edge of the forest, it must have been a very early foundation. Detailed survey does not seem to support this supposition. With the exception of a solitary grave dating from the eighth century B.C., little or nothing has been recorded from Sutri itself, or from the immediate neighbourhood, which is likely to be earlier than the fifth century; and although there must surely have been paths across the forest from a very early date, it seems very likely indeed that the establishment of an engineered road and the foundation of a settlement to control it are the result of a quite late pre-Roman expansion by Veii, northwestwards into what had been Faliscan territory, an expansion that was probably undertaken with the express purpose of establishing direct contact with the hinterland of Tarquinia and Vulci. This was the situation to which Rome fell heir after the conquest of Veii in 396, and it was formalized a few years later by the establishment of Nepi and Sutri as Latin colonies and as outposts against, respectively, the Faliscans and the Etruscan cities to the northwest.



(a) Distribution of black-glazed (Republican) Roman pottery in the neighbourhood of Sutri, and presumed extent of undisturbed forest-land at the end of the first century B.C.

(b) Distribution of the terra sigillata (early Imperial: ▲) and polished red (later Imperial: ●) wares in the neighbourhood of Sutri, and presumed extent of undisturbed forest-land at the end of the Roman period

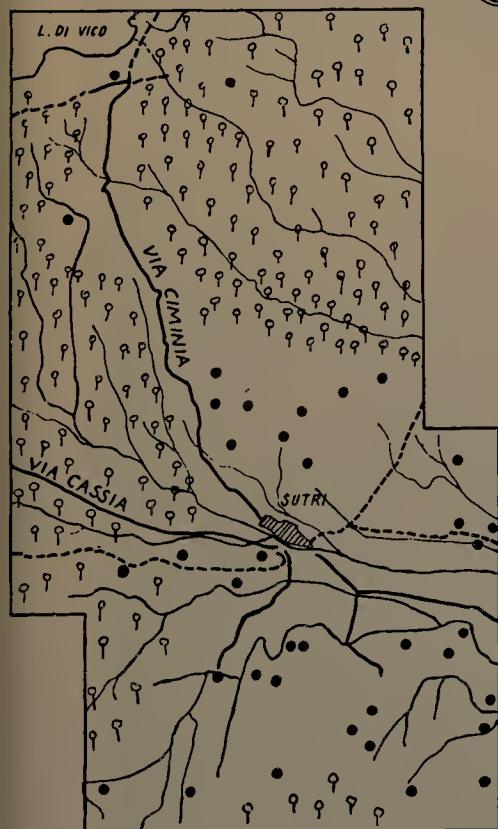


FIG. 3 (a)

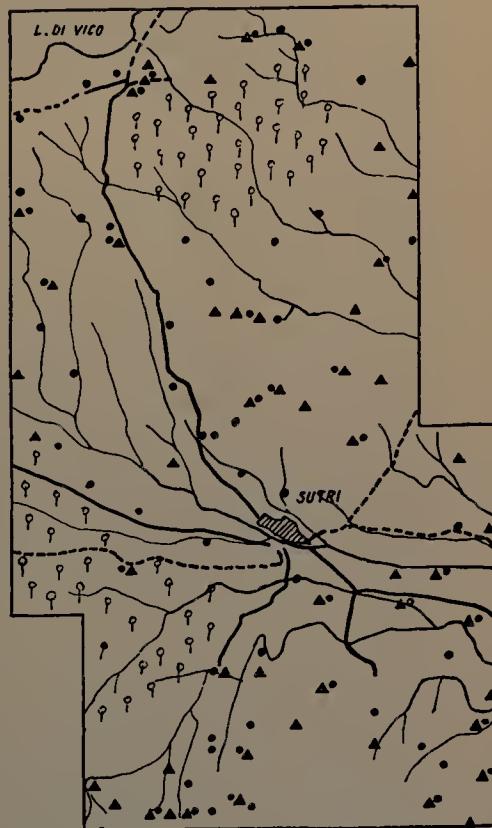
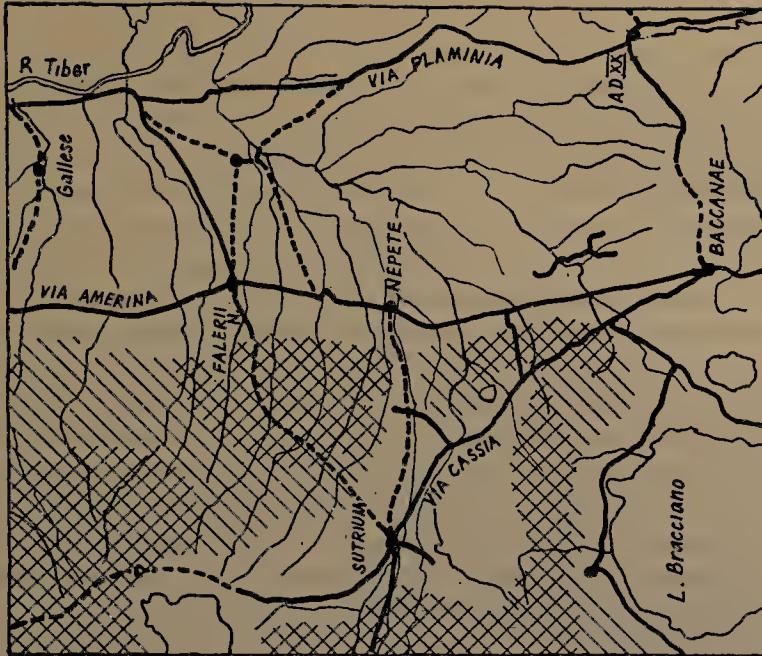


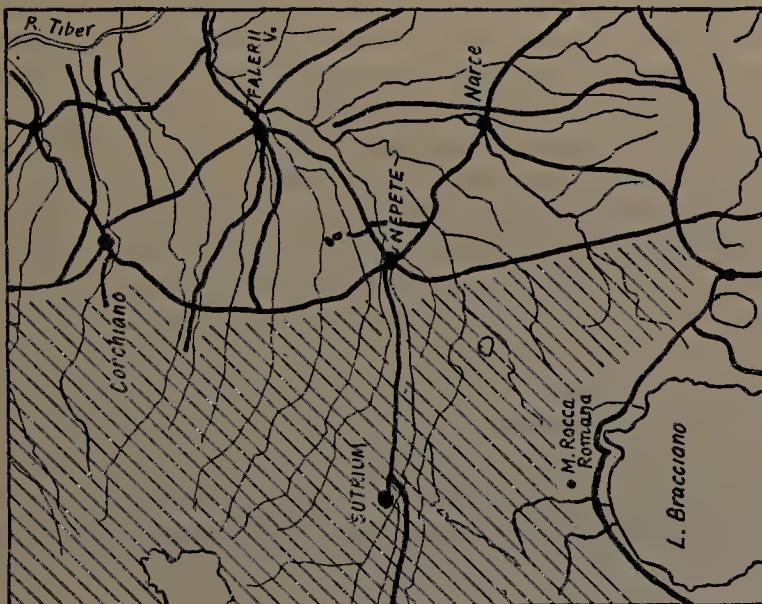
FIG. 3 (b)

From the distribution of ancient sites, it appears that when Nepi was founded, not later than in the seventh century B.C., it lay on the edge of a belt of dense forest-land which does not seem to have been cleared until Roman Imperial times, and then only partially.<sup>8</sup> There must, of course, have been a road westwards to Sutri at least as early as the fifth century B.C.; but around Sutri itself the first clear traces of substantial clearance and settlement belong to the period following the foundation of the Latin colony. This phase is documented by the well-marked distribution pattern of black-glazed wares, over the northern and north-eastern slopes of the Monti Sabatini, to the south of the town, and northwestward along the line of the track which later became the *Via Ciminia*. It was only later, under the Empire, that this relatively restricted area was enlarged, in particular towards the east, where, in the Middle Ages, we find a string of prosperous small towns strung out along the fertile southeastern slopes of the Monti Cimini; and, as the body of positive evidence grows, so strength is added to the argument from silence which suggests that even in late antiquity there were still substantial tracts of virgin forest, notably to the west of Sutri, around the medieval Capranica, and again in the flat, rather ill-drained plain that stretches northwards from Monterosi towards Caprarola and Fábrica di Roma.<sup>9</sup>

Prior to the establishment of Sutri and the opening up of the engineered road through the Sutri gap, the forest must in fact have been a very effective barrier. What we can document in some detail for parts of the Ciminian Forest, we can now begin to see was true also of many other parts of southern Etruria. Indeed, as late as the Bronze Age the greater part of central Italy west of the Tiber must still have been forest-land, sparsely populated by groups of settlers who had pushed their way up the rivers and along the natural watershed highways to found stable communities in certain naturally favoured centres. Our detailed knowledge of prehistoric settlement in this area is far too scanty and sporadic to be really representative; but we can document at any rate two substantial areas of early settlement, the one in the upper Fiora valley around Pitigliano (the descendants, presumably, of pioneers who had worked their way up-river from the coastal plain near Vulci), the other in the neighbourhood of Civita Castellana (*Falerii Veteres*), the ancient capital of the Faliscans and the natural centre for any penetration westwards from the ancient highway up and down the Tiber valley. In both cases we have to do with areas that long remained self-contained geographical units in the sense that we have just described; and, whatever their later political and cultural vicissitudes, there is a very real



(b) Roman roads and towns



(a) Pre-Roman roads and settlements

FIG. 4. The Ager Faliscus

sense in which they can claim continuity from these prehistoric beginnings down into historic times, a continuity no less real than that which links the Etruscan-period communities in these same areas with those of Roman and medieval times, and indeed right down to the present day.

It is against such a background that we have to interpret the appearance on the historical scene of the Etruscan League. The curtain rises upon the figure of a powerful and effectively united Etruria, poised on the threshold of a vigorous phase of imperialistic expansion, northwards into the Po valley and southwards across Latium into Campania. But it is not to be imagined that this powerful confederacy sprang into being fully formed. In the southern part of Etruria, at any rate, everything suggests that the cultural and economic, and presumably also the political, initiative came first from the great cities of the coast, and spread thence inland. The historical Etruscan League as we know it in the seventh and sixth centuries, with its twelve cities loosely united by bonds of language, culture, and religion into what was, for this brief period of its history, an effective and more or less homogeneous political unit, was itself the product of a period of internal development and consolidation, for the nature of which we are largely dependent on the evidence of archaeology, and at most of the historical details of which we can only guess. At most, but perhaps not quite all; for at least one of the later stages of this process has left its mark in the written record. The Faliscans, so nearly Etruscan but not quite, are surely a tribe which was already established in the district to the east of the Monti Cimini before the spread of Etruscan power eastwards into the Tiber Valley, and which came within the Etruscan orbit early enough to have been partly Etruscanized, but late enough to have retained into historic times something of its own national identity, including its own native language. Before the process of assimilation and absorption could be completed, the tide of Etruscan expansion had turned. The star of Rome rose in time not only to stay the process of Etruscanization before the Etruscan language (of which we find many traces in the epigraphy of the Faliscan territory, side by side with Faliscan texts) had had time to oust the native dialect, but also to capture and fix in the Roman record the name and separate personality of this Etruscanized "pre-Etruscan" people.

It is not because the relationship between the Etruscans and the Faliscans was in itself in any way unusual that they occupy a unique and in many ways equivocal position in the story of the struggle for the control of central Italy, the struggle between Etruria and Rome, between the Etruscan and the Latin languages: it is because circumstance did not allow that relationship to be worked out to its logical conclusion. There

must in fact have been many other such prehistoric communities within the confines of Etruria — in the upper Fiora valley, for example, in the Viterbo plain and the Biedano valley, or in the Tiber valley around Orvieto and the hills to the east of Lake Bolsena, to quote three only of the most clearly distinguishable of these prehistoric units. Archaeology can tell us something, and will in time no doubt tell us a lot more, about their individual characteristics and affinities, but it is very doubtful whether we shall ever learn their names. Their identity was lost for ever when they were first subjected to and later merged within the Etruscan polity. Whatever they had been before, they now became and they remained Etruscans.

As in the case of Rome's own later expansion, the emergence of Etruria as a major power was an evolutionary process, a process of give and take between the peoples and cultures involved, in which only a narrow, short-term view can justify the use of the terms victor and vanquished. Whoever the warrior chieftains may have been who launched the inhabitants of Etruria upon their triumphant course of political consolidation and expansion, whether they were of some ancient indigenous stock, miraculously revitalized, or whether they were more or less recent arrivals in central Italy, they are as far removed from the Etruria of the later seventh and sixth centuries as William the Conqueror and his Norman knights from the England of Henry II. We are accustomed to think of the early struggles between Rome and Etruria in terms of the same clear-cut distinctions as did the later Roman historians. The Etruscans on such a view were a people of alien race and tongue who for a while under the kings conquered and ruled Rome, and who were in due course expelled and later, in their turn, were conquered and subjected by Rome. Such is the black and white of the conventional story, a story which flattered Roman pride and which made excellent sense to anybody familiar with the gulf that divided Roman and Etruscan during the later stages of their struggle for supremacy in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. And yet, the closer we scrutinize the earliest relations of Rome with Etruria, the more points of contact we find and the fewer points of essential divergence. It is not just a matter of the Etruscan ties and sympathies of a small ruling class cutting across the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic boundaries that otherwise divided the two peoples. If there were close links between the rulers on both sides of the Tiber during the sixth century, so also there were between the ruled. There was, it is true, a difference of language, but that was not a major obstacle between Etruscan and Faliscan; and in terms of material culture the earliest Romans, as represented by their remains from the

Palatine and from the Forum cemetery, could well have passed as the poor relations of their neighbours buried in the Villanovan cemeteries of Tarquinia or Veii. The two cultures were not identical; but the relationship was close enough to ensure that, when for a time during the sixth century Rome became an Etruscan city, the Romans were able to absorb and to make their own a great deal of what was best and most vital in Etruscan life and thought. Rome's ability, both now and later, to learn from and to profit by the experience of her rivals is indeed the measure of a sympathy of outlook strong enough to overcome the superficial barriers of politics, language, and religion.

It is customary to regard the period of Etruscan rule in Rome as just another move in the game of power politics between Rome and her northern neighbours. So, of course, in a sense it was. The Etruscans conquered Rome in order to control the natural river-crossing towards their colonies in Campania and the South, and they held it until, in due course, their power began to decline, when they were expelled and Rome renewed her independence. That is history viewed with the hindsight of later knowledge. There is, however, another point of view, that of the privileged contemporary spectator. To him, might it not have seemed equally true to suggest that the Etruscan occupation of Rome was a last stage (and, as it turned out, an abortive stage) in the formation of the political and cultural entity which we know as Etruria? Which of these two viewpoints one adopts is largely a matter of perspective. If one is thinking in terms of the future history of central Italy and the rise of Rome, it is the parting of the ways, the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome, not their occupation of it, which is the decisive event. If, on the other hand, one is concerned more with that earlier phase of relations between Etruria and Rome which witnessed the emergence of central Italy from the twilight of prehistory and the events that shaped the formation of the two peoples who between them were to transform the historical scene, then it is a matter of no small importance to realize how close Rome was to becoming an Etruscan city, not just in the sense of being subjected to Etruscan rule (this indeed turned out to be the weak link in the chain), but in the fuller sense of becoming an integral part of, and itself contributing to the evolution of, the Etruscan people and the Etruscan body-politic.

Whether, if political circumstances had been different, the fusion of Rome with Etruria would in fact ever have taken place, and if so what its results would have been, are matters of idle speculation; but that it might at one time have seemed to be a practical possibility, and that there was already at this early stage a close and complex relationship

between the two people, of this there is hardly room for doubt. About the nature of that relationship, there is a great deal still to be learned. It is something, however, to have become aware of the terms of the problem and of the difficulties involved in its solution; and, since nothing that has a bearing upon the formation of the Roman people and the Roman character can fail to be of absorbing interest, it is also a challenge.

## NOTES

1. Massimo Pallottino, *The Etruscans*, Pelican Books, 1955; cf. *Etruscologia*, 3rd ed., Milan, 1955.

2. The method of identifying race by the determination of blood-groups is still in its experimental stages and can at present be applied only to the important ABO group. A symposium was held in London in April 1958, under the auspices of the CIBA Foundation, to discuss the application of this method to the problems of archaeology and historical genetics, with special reference to the Etruscan problem; see *Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins*, London (Churchill), 1959.

3. The Gauls of southwestern Aquitaine, for example, had little in common with the *Belgae* of northern France. Another substantial alien element, particularly in Provence, came from the eastern Mediterranean, the original settlers of the Greek colonies, the Greek-speaking slaves of the Roman Empire, and, at all periods, the merchants of Egypt and the Levant. In passing, it is well to note that, although to the archaeologist "formation" may be a more useful concept than "origins", it is not without connotations of its own which may well prove misleading within the context of the present enquiry. Thus, it virtually excludes many of the phenomena most commonly associated with the transmission of religious beliefs. No less than "origins" it is a term to be used with great caution if we are not to prejudge the very subject which we are discussing.

4. Both the plan of Poggio Buco published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, p. 264, and reproduced by G. Matteucig, *Poggio Buco*, University of California, 1951, p. 2, and the accompanying descriptions of the site are very inadequate. On the ground, the "citadel" (B) can be seen to be a small and originally self-standing hill-fort, the ground within which is thickly strewn with Villanovan sherds. Later this nucleus was expanded to cover the whole area of the Etruscan city, the neck of the natural promontory on which it stands being defended by a very large artificial ditch and *vallum* (A).

5. At Veii (Fig. 2) there were Villanovan cemeteries immediately outside what later became three of the principal gates of the Etruscan city, the Northwest (Vulci) Gate, the Northeast (Capena) Gate, and the South Gate, which served one of the principal early routes leading to Rome. For the third of these ("Valle la Fata"), see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1929, pp. 330-351, and 1933, pp. 422-427; a few graves from the second ("Picazzano") are published *ibid.* 1930, pp. 67-69, and a solitary grave from the neighbouring "Vaccareccia" cemetery in *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, xvi, 1952, p. 81, "Vaccareccia XIX". That outside the Northwest Gate ("Grotta Gramiccia") was extensively excavated

by G. A. Colini and Giglioli, but apart from a brief reference of a general character (*ibid.* 1919, p. 6) it has never been published. Traces of actual settlement are recorded from the Piazza d'Armi (E. Stefani, *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*, XI, 1901, cc. 177–290), and others have recently come to light on the hill-top immediately to the north of the Northwest Gate. The picture of a group of small agricultural communities loosely associated as members of a larger (and in this case) very clearly defined geographical unit offers suggestive parallels with the earliest history of settlement on the site of the city of Rome.

6. Preliminary reports on parts of the BSR field survey of southern Etruria have appeared in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xlvii, 1957, pp. 139–143, and in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxiii, 1955, pp. 44–72; xxv, 1957, pp. 67–207; xxvi, 1958, pp. 63–134.

7. In *PBSR*, xxvi, 1958, is a detailed survey of the antiquities of Sutri and district, by Guy Duncan. Figs. 3 and 4 are based on this work.

8. *Ibid.*; cf. also *PBSR*, xxv, 1957, pp. 179–182; as shown by Duncan's recent work round Sutri, the belt of persistent forest land (marked by an almost complete absence of ancient sites except where crossed by roads such as that from Sutri to Nepi and by the Via Cassia) stops short of the range of clay hills immediately to the east of Sutri.

9. Except for the stretch immediately to the west of Sutri, the Via Cassia passes very few ancient sites before reaching Vicus Matrini (at km. 60 on the modern road). The well-marked *aggeres* on either side of the road also suggest that it was running through woodland (*PBSR*, xxvi, 1958, p. 84).

## LIVY AND AUGUSTUS

BY RONALD SYME

- I. The Plan and Structure.
- II. When Did Livy Begin?
- III. The Reign of Augustus.

THE historian Livy led a quiet and regular existence. Not much material for a biographer, and no temptation for research or invention. Though Livy was a classic in his own lifetime, he escaped the fate of Virgil, whose writings became a prey to scholarly exegesis and were diligently scrutinised in the search for clues and allusions. That is all to the good. None the less, various questions have to be asked if an attempt is made to approach the author as a person, not merely as a classical text, to appraise his design and purpose without being content to exploit what survives of his writings as a repertory of fact or fable, as an excuse for erudite investigation into historical sources and lost historians. The questions concern Livy's origin and time of life, his education, character, and pursuits.

An estimate of the historical qualities of Livy is impaired by the hazard that has transmitted only a quarter of his great work. What has survived is singularly vulnerable to criticism. In the first Decade the author takes leave of legend only to plunge into fiction. Aware of his plight, he has no principle or method to guide him — and none was available. Later, arriving at a period which offered a reliable and contemporary record, he must submit to confrontation, for accuracy and insight, with the formidable Polybius.

Livy has been doubly unfortunate in what chance preserves. The Roman found consolation in ancient annals, and repose from the recent era of tribulation. But, as he says in his *Praefatio*, he was intending to go on and narrate the history of his own time. Livy enjoyed length of days, and was able to complete an enormous task in one hundred and forty-two books. He went on after the war of Actium and the triumph of Caesar's heir, terminating the work at 9 B.C. A friendly view of what lies within the scope and power of a historian might suppose the later books to be Livy's prime achievement. He cannot be judged by it. Tacitus was more lucky. Apart from his annals of Rome under Julii and Claudii, the arbiters of praise and blame may appeal, if they so wish, to

the *Historiae* in which Tacitus narrated events within his own time and knowledge.

Born in 59 B.C. and living until A.D. 17 (on the standard and conventional assumption), Livy was closely coeval with Caesar Augustus. The historian is the shining glory of Augustan prose, and its solitary survivor (if one omits a technical writer like Vitruvius, or the declaimers of whose performance the elder Seneca transmits a number of samples). Style or sentiment, how far can Livy be regarded as typical, and a safe guide to anything? Livy's picture of the Roman past is patently schematic and wildly anachronistic, not to say fraudulent. Some take it to reflect the Augustan colour and atmosphere, with Livy as a perfect embodiment of the ideals prevalent or advertised in that epoch, comparable to what Virgil and Horace disclose. Hesitations might be felt. The beliefs about religion, patriotism, and morality discoverable or subsumed in the writings of Livy may have an earlier origin. Livy was a grown man long before the new dispensation came into force. And indeed, what is meant by "Augustan"?

That is a large problem, and important. The present enquiry is restricted in scope. It will put three questions. First, Livy's plan, with consequent remarks about the chronology of his life and the rhythm of his operations. Secondly, how early did Livy make a beginning (that touches "Augustan" influences or tendencies)? Thirdly, how did he manage the history of his own time, and especially the reign of Caesar Augustus?

## I. THE PLAN AND STRUCTURE

Livy dominated subsequent historians — at least for the period of the Republic. Hence something can be discovered. For the last generation of the Republic and the time of Caesar, the use of Livy by Cassius Dio can be presumed — and proved. But the indications of such use grow slighter and slighter, to vanish after the Battle of Actium.<sup>1</sup> For the rest, various scraps and vestiges in late compilers.

The investigation of the stages by which such Livian material was transmitted to those writers is an intricate and controversial pursuit.<sup>2</sup> At one time it was the fashion to refer almost everything to a single *Epitome* of Livy, composed as early as the reign of Tiberius. Some recent studies have attempted to invalidate that theory. Klotz argued that certain items supposed to be Livian really come from collections of *Exempla*, deriving from sources employed by Livy; and, instead of invoking an original *Epitome*, he suggested that from time to time

different lists of contents, separated from the parent work, passed into independent circulation.<sup>3</sup> In his latest formulation, Klotz spoke of such summaries enlarged to form an elementary manual of Roman history.<sup>4</sup> However that may be, the existence of a genuine *Epitome* can be established beyond doubt. It was used, for example, by Florus and by Orosius in their detailed and more or less concordant accounts of Augustus' Cantabrian campaign of 26 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

One list of contents in fact survives, the *Periochae*, as they are called. A production of limited utility, based on an *Epitome*. The editor had his idiosyncrasies in the choice and arrangement of his material. The summaries can vary in length from three lines to over thirty. Nor does he always keep to the strict order of events in individual books, but often appends a brief comment on the contents of a book, as though by an afterthought, using the phrase *praeterea . . . continet*. The triumph of Pompeius Magnus (September, 61 B.C.) is put after Caesar's first campaign in Gaul, at the end of Book CIII. Livy cannot have post-dated such a striking event by three years. Again, at the end of Book CXIII, after Octavianus' triumph (29 B.C.), comes the conspiracy of the young Lepidus, which occurred in the previous year. The *Periocha* of Book CXLI (10 B.C.) mentions the restoration of military standards by the Parthians — which certainly belongs to 20 B.C. The editor in a cursory glance at an epitome of CXLI had probably seen a reference to Parthian submissiveness — but it was the surrender of the four sons of Phraates as hostages in 10 B.C., an event later than and quite distinct from the *signa*.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the editor's industry flagged and failed. The summaries of the latest books become very meagre. The *Periochae* of Books CXVIII–CXLII inclusive take up less space than is allotted to single books at earlier stages; certain names and events mentioned there, out of all historical importance, seem to reflect personal interests of the writer, for example, the identity of the first Gallic high priest of the Altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum and the names of two noble Nervii who fought on Drusus' side in the invasion of Germany.<sup>7</sup> When he made his summaries, two books (CXVI and CXVII), covering (it appears) the years 24–17 B.C. inclusive, had been lost from the manuscript he worked on.<sup>8</sup> Hence the *Periochae* give a miserable idea of the last section of Livy, the nine books (CXIV–CXLII) covering the Principate of Caesar Augustus from 28 to 9 B.C.

Brief and defective, the *Periochae* still provide information — and provoke speculation — about the plan and structure of Livy's work.

Artistic design should certainly be looked for; but the more elaborate reconstructions, such as that of Nissen, based on rigid divisions and subdivisions, on intricate correspondences between groups of books and totals of years, will be rightly suspected;<sup>9</sup> and the variety of schemes that can be proposed is a deterrent.

A division of the work by decades is attested in late antiquity by the letter of Pope Gelasius.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the historian appears originally to have contemplated the division by fives and tens — at least the first five books are a definite unit, marked by the occurrence of a new preface with Book VI. But the end of Book X in 294 B.C. seems devoid of any significance. The historical break surely came a little later, in 290, with the two triumphs of M'. Curius. Indeed, Books VI to XV form a decade and have a unitary subject — Rome resurgent after the Gallic catastrophe and achieving the conquest of Italy. Book XVI, with an excursus on the origins of Carthage, introduces the First Punic War; the decade of the Second Punic War (XXI–XXX) is a unit; and perhaps the next ten books also, though the death of a foreign king, Philip V of Macedon, and the accession of Perseus, recounted at the end of Book XL, is not necessarily a significant date for the writer of Roman annals.

From the end of the Second Punic War to the tribunate of Livius Drusus in 91 B.C., decades appear undiscoverable. The events permit different subdivisions; and those most plausible to a modern critic might not have commended themselves to a historian in antiquity.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps there is an end with Book XLVIII, a new beginning at Book XLIX, namely the outbreak of the Third Punic War, with a new preface.<sup>12</sup>

Yet surely it is Book LII that is the end of an epoch. It contains the triumphs of Aemilianus, Metellus, and Mummius, the winding up of the Roman wars in Africa, in Macedonia, and in Hellas (145 B.C.). Internal dissensions were soon to usurp the central interest hitherto belonging to the foreign wars against Rome's rivals for the empire of the Mediterranean. Here Polybius made an end — and left the point where later historians might take up the story, Posidonius and Strabo. A patriotic repudiation of Greek influences or an abnormal passion for originality might have tempted a writer to demolish the established categories and construct the history according to a new design. He would not find it easy or remunerative. The view that the fall of Carthage introduced a change in the development of Roman politics and a decline in Roman morals had become an established truth.

The *Periocha* of Book LII ends with the triumph of Mummius. From this point to Livius Drusus and the *Bellum Italicum* in 91 B.C. — the

latter the beginning of the age of civil wars — there is no clear indication of plan. A modern writer would probably work up the Gracchan seditions into a recognisable historical unit. There is no sign that Livy did. Nor do the disturbances in the sixth consulate of Marius justify a break at the year 100 B.C. (Book LXIX).

The following general plan may have suggested itself to Livy. The period from the end of the Second Punic War to the *Bellum Italicum* (Books XXXI to LXX or LXXI) divides into two large halves, the break coming before or after the Third Punic War (i.e., at the end of Book XLVIII, or the end of Book LII). The second half presents no obvious point of subdivision. Perhaps, in the author's scheme, the year that witnessed the death of Scipio Aemilianus (129 B.C., Book LIX) was a convenient halfway house.

If Livy began his work with decades in mind, they cracked and broke under pressure of the matter. And, in the revolutionary age, the surge of history grew ever more swift and turbulent, bursting the barriers of the annalistic design. The historian could no longer make the end of a book coincide with the end of a year. This is evident from the *Bellum Italicum* onwards.

That event is the turning point in Roman history between the Battles of Zama and Actium. The war against the Italici was a kind of civil war.<sup>13</sup> As such Livy can hardly have failed to narrate it, himself a citizen of that extended *Italia* of the North, only recently incorporated in the Roman Commonwealth, but a vital element in the new Italo-Roman patriotism of the unified nation.<sup>14</sup>

Modern historians, following the precedent of Appian, commonly lead off the history of the revolutionary age with the actions of the tribune Ti. Gracchus, which sowed the seeds of dissension — and first caused blood to flow in the streets of Rome. Yet it was the tribunate of Livius Drusus that quickly and sharply provoked the series of wars which ended only with Actium. Their termination brought not only peace to Rome but the union of Italy.

Livy appears to be hurrying forward to Drusus and the *Bellum Italicum*: he compresses the events of seven years (98–92 B.C. inclusive) into one Book (LXX). It is not at once clear whether Book LXXI or Book LXXII should mark the beginning of his history of the Revolution. Book LXX, ending with the year 92 B.C., contains the origin of Drusus' proposals in the desire of the Senate to regain control of the law-courts, and a first indication of the programme of the aristocratic demagogue — *perniciosa spe largitionum plebem concitavit*. Book LXXI proceeds with the details, *leges agrariae frumentariaeque*, the *lex*

*iudiciaria*, and the offer of citizenship to the Italians; further, the meetings and plots of the Italian leaders and the assassination of Drusus. Book LXXII plunges into the action: *Italici populi defecere: Picentes Vestini Marsi Paeligni Marrucini Samnites Lucani. initio belli a Picentibus moto*, etc.

Harmony of numbers would indicate Book LXXI as the beginning of a new series, Book LXXX as an end — forty books from the second Punic War.<sup>15</sup> Decades may have been a convenience for publication; but, as has been shown, the material could no longer be properly disposed according to decades. There is no break between Books LXX and LXXI. Drusus' programme lies athwart them; and in Drusus are summed up and united the political contentions of the preceding forty years. The proper and dramatic beginning of the revolutionary wars might therefore seem to be the actual revolt of the peoples of Italia, narrated by Livy at the beginning of Book LXXII. Yet the annalistic principle of arrangement was probably dominant after all. The first act of the *Bellum Italicum*, the rising at Asculum, took place before the end of the year 91 B.C. For this reason it is perhaps preferable to suppose that the new section of Livy's work began not with the actual outbreak of hostilities but with the calendar year 91 B.C., that is, with Book LXXI. This theory is confirmed by the evidence of Eutropius and of Orosius, in which the year of the consuls Sex. Caesar and L. Philippus is given emphasis as the beginning of a new series of events.<sup>16</sup>

If the narrative from this point onwards were not to reproduce all too faithfully the chaos of events, it was desirable for the author to adopt some plan or other for arranging and subdividing his matter. It will be presumed that Livy was not content to be carried on — and carried away — by the stream of events; and one indication of his design survives. Books CIX–CXVI, taking the story from the outbreak of the war between Pompeius and Caesar down to the assassination of the dictator, form a unit: they are described in the *Periochae*, one by one, as Books I–VIII of the *bellum civile*.

It is by no means easy to establish other subdivisions. Yet it is expedient to investigate in more detail the structure of the rest of Livy's work, for the better understanding of the last portion, the contemporary history down to 9 B.C. The most recent theory, that of Bayet, disposes it into nine groups, varying in length from five to seventeen books.<sup>17</sup> This arrangement is open to criticism on several counts. Instead, an easy, organic, and harmonious grouping can be proposed.

The story of the Revolution from the outbreak of the *Bellum Italicum* to the triumph of Octavianus in 29 B.C. falls itself into three large

divisions, sharp and inevitable: the Ten Years War, the generation of precarious or fraudulent peace, the Twenty Years War.

First of all, the *Bellum Italicum* and the wars of Marius and Sulla. The latter blended inextricably with the former. The amnesty accorded to the insurgents was of limited effect; large parts of Italy remained beyond the control of the Roman government; even Sulla's victory at the Colline Gate (82 B.C.) did not mean the end, for Volaterrae and Nola still held out, until 80 B.C. The subject forms a unit, and it had already commended itself for such treatment. The *Historiae* of L. Cornelius Sisenna began with the *Bellum Italicum* and went as far as 82 B.C., perhaps a little further.<sup>18</sup> Also, one section of the historical works of L. Lucceius, the friend of Pompeius and of Cicero, embraced the two wars, as Cicero clearly states: *Italici belli et civilis historia*.<sup>19</sup> The propriety of treating the first epoch of civil strife as a single whole is evident. The only question is, where was it to end? with Sulla's ordering of the constitution, with his abdication, or with his death? Or would the annalistic principle pass over each of these dates and begin with the consuls of 78 B.C., M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus?

It is a remarkable fact that no ancient source registers the precise date of Sulla's abdication. Some scholars would put it in 79 B.C., even as late as the summer.<sup>20</sup> That is not likely. Perhaps Sulla divested himself of dictatorial powers when he laid down his second consulship on the last day of December, 80 B.C.<sup>21</sup> That would be a highly appropriate ending for a book, a new period to open with the consuls of the restored Republic, Ap. Claudius Pulcher and P. Servilius.

Two compilators are here of value, Orosius and Eutropius. Orosius begins a new section with the words *creatibus itaque P. Servilio et Appio Claudio consulibus visus est tandem Sulla privatus. hoc fine conclusa sunt duo bella funestissima, sociale Italicum et Sullanum civile. haec per annos decem tracta*, etc.<sup>22</sup> Thus a war of ten years ends with 80 B.C. Orosius proceeds to narrate the four great foreign wars that from 78 B.C. confronted the restored oligarchy. As for Eutropius, his fifth book ends with the Ten Years War, designated as such; and the sixth opens with the series of foreign wars (under the consuls of 78 B.C.).<sup>23</sup>

This may be the conception of Livy — and it is highly acceptable. The last events in the *Perioda* of Book LXXXIX are the reduction of Nola and Volaterrae (and Mytilene): no mention, however, of the abdication of Sulla. The *Perioda* of Book XC opens with the death and funeral of Sulla (spring, 78 B.C.). The first section of the age of the Revolution may therefore be described as the "First Civil War" or the "Ten Years War"; it was told in nineteen books, LXXI–LXXXIX.

On this hypothesis the second section begins with the year 78 B.C. That was in fact the point where Sallust began — *res populi Romani M. Lepido Q. Catulo consulibus ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui.*<sup>24</sup> The style and the sentiments of Sallust were repugnant to Livy. But history was a highly conservative art; and the historian regarded it as a convenience, if not as a duty, to follow the grouping of events — and even the proportion and emphasis — of his predecessors. This important consideration is ignored by those who make Book XC the end, not the beginning, of a group of books.<sup>25</sup>

This, the next portion of Livy, fills nineteen books (XC–CVIII). The beginning was recommended by convenience as well as by the example of Sallust. The end was determined by the artistic propriety — not to say necessity — of making a new start in 49 B.C. with the recurrence of an epoch of civil wars. Book CIX is entitled *civilis belli primus*; it may well have had a separate preface; and it begins with *causae civilium armorum*. The influence of this introduction can clearly be discerned in later writers, especially in Florus and in the *Pharsalia* of the poet Lucan.<sup>26</sup>

Books CIX–CXVI form a separate unit. But the end of Caesar did not mean the end of the civil wars — that period terminates only with the victory of Caesar's heir, consecrated by the triple triumph of 29 B.C. (Book CXXXIII). That, not 31 or 30, is the date. The period had lasted for twenty years, as the *Perioda* of Book CXXXIII states — *imposito fine bellis civilibus altero et vicesimo anno.*<sup>27</sup> The third section is therefore made up by Books CIX–CXXXIII (49–29 B.C.).

Such are the three large sections dictated by the history of the years 91–29 B.C., namely the Ten Years War, the Restored Republic, and the Civil Wars. Groups of twenty, nineteen, and twenty-five books respectively. They carry sixty-three years of history, which, by a close coincidence, are narrated in sixty-three books (LXXI–CXXXIII).

These are large groups. Each of them, however, admits further subdivision, so as to produce, without Procrustean methods, shorter and more convenient sections, like the Caesarian unit (eight books) mentioned above, of from eight to ten books in length.

The military history of the Ten Years War baffles bisection.<sup>28</sup> But the end of C. Marius provides a break. The *Perioda* of Book LXXX records his decease and his character — *vir cuius si examinentur cum virtutibus vitia, haud facile sit dictu utrum bello melior an pace perniciosior fuerit. adeo quam rem p. armatus servavit, eam primo togatus omni genere fraudis, postremo armis hostiliter evertit.* Marius died on January 13, 86 B.C. The events of those weeks made it impossible to terminate a book with the last day of December. The Ten Years War therefore falls into

two manageable units, one of ten books, the other of nine (LXXI-LXXX and LXXXI-LXXXIX).

There seems no obvious and inevitable point of division in the next group, the Restored Republic. It can be argued that in Livy's conception the figure of Pompeius Magnus dominated these books; and it has been proposed to divide them at Book XCVI, with the reconquest of Spain, and at Book CIII, with the triumph of Pompeius.<sup>29</sup> The history of these years and the order of events in the *Periochae* yield little support to this theory. An easier break can be found. Nor does Livy follow Pollio and make the consulate of Metellus and Afranius the beginning of a historical period. He cannot help, however, reflecting Pollio's conception of the conspiracy of the three *principes*, Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar.<sup>30</sup>

The *Historiae* of Sallust ended in 67 B.C. The date appears accidental, the historian having died before his work was completed. None the less, the year 67 was a cardinal date in the decline and fall of the Sullan oligarchy.<sup>31</sup> That was certainly the subject of Sallust's history, whatever the limit he had set himself. Not Caesar, he could argue, but Pompeius was the destroyer of the Republic. The *Lex Gabinia* granted military power described as "monarchic".<sup>32</sup> If Livy follows Sallust in opening a new period at 78 B.C., a suitable ending for it was indicated at 67 B.C. Livy would now have to turn to other sources. The next proposal in favour of Pompeius was the *Lex Manilia*, brought forward in January, 66 B.C. Book C opens with the *Lex Manilia*. The last generation of the Republic therefore forms two units of ten and nine books respectively, namely the twelve years covered by Sallust (Books XC-XCIX) and the *libri a fine Sallusti Crispi* (Books C-CVIII) — not that Livy would have wanted to call them by that name.

Thirdly, the Civil Wars, in twenty-five books (CIX-CXXXIII). The subject can be divided into three units, approximately equal in length. The first comprises eight books (CIX-CXVI, see above), narrating the Caesarian wars and the Dictatorship. The second unit opens inevitably with the coming of Caesar's heir to Rome — and concludes, just as inevitably, with the Battle of Philippi (Books CXVII-CXXIV). Both Appian and Cassius Dio put Philippi at the end of a book.<sup>33</sup> They could hardly do otherwise. That battle signed the death-warrant of the Republic; and it was honoured in the traditions of the Roman aristocracy as Pharsalia was not. Livy had an amiable propensity for narrating the deaths of famous men.<sup>34</sup> Such obituaries often came in handy to conclude a book or a series of books (for example, Livius Drusus, Marius, and Caesar). Philippi meant the extinction of a party as well as

a cause. The Battle of Pharsalia had been comparatively merciful to the Roman aristocracy. At Philippi there fell not Brutus and Cassius only, but a host of illustrious men. Many a noble family was cut off. As Velleius observes, no other war was so murderous — *non aliud bellum cruentius caede clarissimorum virorum fuit.*<sup>35</sup> No doubt but that Livy recounted their names and their lineage. After a gap in the text the *Periocha* of Book CXXIV ends with *inter quos Q. Hortensius occisus est.*

Eight books for Julius Caesar, eight more till Philippi, and nine from Philippi to the triumph of Octavianus fill the tale of the Civil Wars in twenty-five books. Finally, as the appendix, nine books on Augustus, or rather on *res publica restituta*. The latest event mentioned in Book CXXXIII is the triumph of 29 B.C. The brief summary of Book CXXXIV open with the words *C. Caesar rebus compositis et omnibus provinciis in certam formam redactis Augustus quoque cognominatus est.* It may be presumed that those words cover Augustus' restoration of "normal" government, which was proclaimed as complete at the session of the Senate on January 13, 27 B.C. It was not, however, a single act but a series of measures carried out, as Augustus himself says, in the course of his sixth and seventh consulates (28 and 27 B.C.).<sup>36</sup> The process was initiated (it can be affirmed) early in 28 B.C. The citizens of Rome then saw the consular *fasces* handed over, after the proper and Republican fashion of monthly alternation, from one consul to his colleague, from Caesar's heir to Marcus Agrippa.<sup>37</sup> That is to say, presumably on the first day of February, 28 B.C.<sup>38</sup>

Book CXXXIII closed with the climax of the triumph. Roman domestic transactions of 28 B.C. belong therefore to the beginning of the next book, to the new section. That book (CXXXIV) has plenty of room for the constitutional settlement of 28–27 B.C., for, apart from that, it appears to have contained only Augustus' sojourn at Narbo on the way to Spain and the campaigns of M. Licinius Crassus, the proconsul of Macedonia (29 and 28 B.C.) postdated; and those campaigns even overflow into Book CXXXV.<sup>39</sup>

From the outbreak of the *Bellum Italicum* a series of seven sections varying from eight to ten books in length and arranged in three large groups emerges, supplemented by a final nine books on Augustus. Smaller subdivisions may from time to time have been made, according as the nature of the material and the convenience of the author demanded. For example, the second section of the Civil Wars admits a division after the Proscriptions (Book CXX); and the third can be approximately halved with the suppression of Sex. Pompeius, 36 B.C. (Book CXXIX), a date which Octavianus at the time professed to

regard as the end of the Civil Wars.<sup>40</sup> Thus the two units covering the period 44–29 B.C., Books CXVII–CXXIV and Books CXXV–CXXXIII, fall easily enough into the subdivisions CXVII–CXX, CXXI–CXXIV, CXXV–CXXIX, CXXX–CXXXIII, each ending at a point where the history provides a break. But it is not desirable in such matters to postulate systems of undue harmony — or complexity. It is enough to demonstrate the existence of three large groups, namely the Ten Years War, the post-Sullan order, and the Civil Wars, comprising seven units approximately equal in length, with an appendix of nine books. The scheme is as follows:

LXXI–LXXX	The <i>Bellum Italicum</i> to the death of Marius.
LXXXI–LXXXIX	To the end of the war in Italy.
XC–XCIX	The years 78–67 B.C.
C–CVIII	The years 66–50 B.C.
CIX–CXVI	The Civil Wars to Caesar's death.
CXVII–CXXIV	To Philippi.
CXXV–CXXXIII	To the triumph of Octavianus.
CXXXIV–CXLII	The Republic of Caesar Augustus.

Further questions now arise. When did Livy draw up his plan; what term and limit did he set; and when did he complete the latest portion of his history?

Livy, it can be argued, wrote his *Praefatio* about 27 B.C., probably after the completion of Books I–V, as an introduction to the first instalment of the work.<sup>41</sup> He announces an intention of carrying the narrative down to his own time, to the Civil Wars, *haec nova*. The preface of Book XXXI confirms the plan as “the whole of Roman history”.<sup>42</sup>

When and where did he intend to stop? It has been assumed by Nissen, and by most scholars since, that Livy intended to go on to the death of Caesar Augustus; that the year 9 B.C., which he reached, is in fact an unsuitable or inexplicable termination; that the author left his work unfinished when he died in A.D. 17.<sup>43</sup>

It will be observed on the contrary that Livy did not estimate in advance the duration of Augustus' life — or his own chances of survival. A high expectation of life might, it is true, be conceded to a studious citizen of Patavium, an exemplar of the regular habits which conferred so wide a notoriety upon that virtuous *municipium*; and no

contemporary in his wildest hopes or fears could fancy that the heir of Caesar (born in 63 B.C.), fragile and often ill, would live on and on, enduring until the year we call A.D. 14. But that would be a frivolous argumentation. It misses the point. Livy, despite all his predilection for the great and the good, all a patriot's gratitude towards the author of the present happy dispensation, was not writing a biography of the First Citizen. He was writing *res Romanae*.

In Livy's original plan the goal was evident: Actium, the end of the Civil Wars, and the triumph of the young Caesar,

at Caesar, triplici invictus Romana triumpho  
moenia, dis Italica votum immortale sacrabat.<sup>44</sup>

Reaching that limit in the composition of his histories, he decided to go further (one may conjecture). He added the supplement of nine books (CXXXIV–CXLII). In the preface to one of his late books Livy said that though he had earned glory enough, the spirit drove him on.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps he was referring to those books, the last section of his work.

It remains to discuss briefly the grounds for the prevalent opinion about the conditions in which Livy ended his life and his work. It has been suggested by Klotz, in all gravity, that Book CXLII is unfinished.<sup>46</sup> He argues from the brevity of the *Periocha*. But that is a characteristic which it shares with other books of this group; and it is not nearly the shortest. Books CXXXIX–CXLII recount the events of 12–9 B.C., one book a year. It was the triumphant culmination of the great wars of conquest in Illyricum and beyond the Rhine. The military operations of 9 B.C., the death of Drusus in Germany, and all the fuss about his obsequies gave matter and scope enough.

One problem remains. Not only did Livy die, so it is held, with the pen in his hand (for that is the consecrated phrase).<sup>47</sup> In three years or less (A.D. 14–17) he had written no fewer than twenty-two books (CXXI–CXLII). The manuscripts of the *Periocha* of Book CXXI bear the superscription *qui editus post excessum Augusti dicitur*. What does this statement mean?

Klotz argues that Livy himself, in the *exordium* of that book, affirmed that he was now writing after the death of Augustus. Klotz interprets *dicitur* as *dicitur a Livio*.<sup>48</sup> That is not the only explanation available. The redactor of the *Periochae*, as is known, did not refrain from making additions or comments of his own. The superscription may be merely an inference. It has been suggested that the redactor found in Book CXXI some statement or other that could hardly have been made public in the lifetime of Augustus.<sup>49</sup> That notion is plausible only at

first sight, and at short sight. Book CXXI seems mainly devoted to the operations of Cassius against Dolabella. Where is the matter for offence? Octavianus had revoked the decree of the Senate outlawing Dolabella. A trifle in those times. The preceding book told of the Proscriptions: for a historian the most delicate episode in all the versatile and unedifying career of the young Caesar.

It will be observed that the superscription does not say *scriptus* but *editus*. Hence no warrant for the hasty assumption that Book CXXI (and the twenty-one books following thereupon) were indited after A.D. 14. An easier hypothesis would be preferable: Books CXXI–CXLII, composed towards the end of the reign of Augustus, were held back for some reason or other and not given to the world till later.

It has been shown that the large group of books comprising the twenty-one years of the Civil Wars (CIX–CXXXIII, from 49 to 29 B.C.) falls naturally into three units. They end with Caesar's death, with the Battle of Philippi, and with the triumph of Octavianus. These three units were followed by the nine books of the *Res publica restituta*, all four units being of equivalent length and bulk. This grouping was imposed by the history itself. It does not follow, however, that the instalment published by the author corresponded exactly with the units into which he disposed his material for convenience of composition — and for necessities of structure. Livy began with exact decades, but could not keep it up. Yet decades perhaps suited scribes or publishers; and the division of the whole work into decades is attested in late antiquity.<sup>50</sup>

If the superscription of Book CXXI is to be accepted and utilised (and that is a large question), it could be conjectured that Livy had stopped publication for a time: Book CXX, containing the Proscriptions, in fact provides a break.

In any event, the assumption that Livy took only three years (or less) to write the last twenty-two books is bold — and fragile. Many theories about the composition of Livy's work suppose a fairly equable rate of production, on an average something like three books a year.<sup>51</sup> In itself nothing would forbid the assumption that the old man was writing steadily to the end. Varro set about his *Res Rusticae* at the age of eighty.

But there is nothing to explain the swift acceleration at the end, enabling him to polish off the crowded epoch from the Proscriptions to the death of Drusus (43–9 B.C.) in three years — or less. Livy had acquired greater facility, we are told.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps. His task had now become easier.<sup>53</sup> Not at all. The contemporary period was both more arduous and more dangerous. Livy was a pioneer.

It is a fanciful picture, and nothing more — the veteran devotee of Clio, tired but insatiable, lashing himself into a feverish activity that only death can arrest. The reality may be more sober — and more instructive. Livy (there is nothing against it) may have quietly laid aside his pen several years before death supervened. Nor is it likely that he ever hoped or aspired to anticipate the decease of Caesar Augustus. Furthermore, the year 9 B.C., so far from being unsuitable for termination, was unavoidable — and in fact felicitous.<sup>54</sup>

It is time to look at the ostensible data about the duration of Livy's life. According to the *Chronicle* of Jerome, the historian was born in 59 B.C.<sup>55</sup> That is the canonical date. It is registered in most of the handbooks of Latin literature, large or small, with never a sign of doubt or word of warning. It happens to be insecure.

Scholars dutifully intent on one author at a time and reluctant to abandon a fixed point of reference have neglected to question the general validity of those items concerning Latin authors which Jerome took from Suetonius, *De viris illustribus*, to provide supplementary annotation in his translation of Eusebius. Jerome, it is clear, operated in a casual and careless fashion. Where there are facts to check him, he can be convicted of gross errors: thus Catullus dying in 58 B.C., or Asinius Gallus in A.D. 14.<sup>56</sup>

Now Jerome brackets Livy with the orator Messalla Corvinus under 59 B.C. Messalla, to judge by his role at the Battle of Philippi and the date of his consulship (31 B.C.), can hardly have come into the world as late as 59 B.C. It is reasonable to postulate 64 B.C. or thereabouts. Thus Borghesi long ago, and most scholars concur. Jerome is wrong. How and why did he go wrong? Perhaps (it has been suggested) he found a consular date in his authority, *Caesare et Figulo*, and misread it, hastily assuming the notorious *Caesare et Bibulo*. That is to say, 59 B.C. instead of 64 B.C.<sup>57</sup>

So far, and satisfactorily, Messalla Corvinus. It is surely illegitimate to accept the change of date for Messalla and not admit it for Livy. Yet few have drawn the inference and ventured to posit 64 for Livy.<sup>58</sup> Synchronisms of this type were a device that appealed to the researchers of antiquity, often facile or fraudulent. Thus the birth of Cornelius Gallus was conveniently assigned to Virgil's year, 70: Jerome puts his death in 27 B.C., *XLIII aetatis anno*.<sup>59</sup> Gallus, however, may have been a few years older than Virgil. As for Livy, let the year 64 be taken as approximately correct — if only for the reason that there is nothing else to go by. And there can be advantage in that date.

That is not all. Jerome also furnishes the date of Livy's death, which he puts in A.D. 17: *Livius historiographus Patavi moritur.*<sup>60</sup> Is this any good? Again, Messalla Corvinus is relevant. Jerome indicates A.D. 12 or 13 as the year of his decease (A.D. 12 in the best manuscript).<sup>61</sup> Some therefore, for various reasons, have been disposed to accept A.D. 13.<sup>62</sup> But there is a strong reason against. Jerome gives the age of Messalla as seventy-two. If one reckons from 64, not 59, that points to A.D. 8 as the year of his death. Which is welcome. It accords with evidence in Ovid which implies that Messalla died before the poet's departure into exile.<sup>63</sup> Therefore A.D. 8 ought to be accepted.<sup>64</sup> Not but what there are some recalcitrants.<sup>65</sup>

It has become evident that no reliance can be put on Jerome's date for the decease of Livy. The historian might have prolonged his life beyond A.D. 17. Hence consolation and support for those who wish to believe that Livy wrote no fewer than twenty-two books subsequent to August 19, A.D. 14. But that does not have to be taken seriously.

There is another line of argument. If Messalla's death is to be placed four or five years earlier than the calculation based on 59 B.C., why not Livy's death also? The solitary and ultimate datum about Livy's time of life, found by Suetonius and transmitted by Suetonius, might have been his decease at the age of seventy-five. An assumption (or a mistake) putting the date of his birth in 59 B.C. would give A.D. 17 for his extinction. But if in fact 64 B.C. was the true (or approximate and estimated) date of his birth, his death would then fall in or about A.D. 12.

If that be so, namely a span of life from 64 B.C. to A.D. 12, the period of Livy's writing takes on a different aspect, and various assumptions will have to be challenged.

Postulating a continuous period of regular labour for nearly forty-five years (from about 27 B.C. down to A.D. 17) some scholars have deduced an average output of about three books a year. But the author's rhythm may not in fact have been steady or unbroken. Nor is there anywhere a sign to show that he spent as much as four months on any single book. To take an example. His sources can be divined, and his methods of work, in the period from the aftermath of Hannibal's War to the final defeat of Macedon (Books XXXI–XLV). It would be a bold man who argued that Livy needed more than two or three weeks to produce Book XXXI.

Nothing therefore forbids the notion that Livy, going to work about 29 B.C., had reached Book CXXXIII and with it the end of the Civil Wars by A.D. 1 — if not some years earlier. A pause may have ensued. After which, the turn of events in A.D. 4 (Augustus' adoption of

Tiberius) may have encouraged him to go on and produce his epilogue, covering the years 28 to 9 B.C. Those nine books could have been terminated by A.D. 10 or 12 — whether or no the historian be deemed to have lived on and survived Augustus.

A new date for Livy's birth having been proposed and rendered plausible (64 B.C. instead of 59), the question must be faced: how soon is the historian likely to have discovered his vocation and begun his vast enterprise?

## II. WHEN DID LIVY BEGIN?

Livy's first book provides a clear date. In his reference to the closing of the Temple of Janus in 29 B.C., after the War of Actium, he describes the victor by the solemn appellation which the Senate conferred on January 16, 27 B.C. — *quod nostrae aetati di dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.*<sup>66</sup> But Livy does not mention the second closing of Janus, after the Spanish campaigns of 26 and 25 B.C. The passage was therefore written between 27 and 25 B.C.

There is also the *Preface*, its grave and gloomy tone implying that the salvation of Rome is not yet assured. And perhaps a definite indication to justify pessimism — *haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus.*<sup>67</sup> What does this refer to? It has been argued that as early as 28 B.C. a beginning had been made with legislation for moral reform, but it came to nothing. Propertius in an early poem alludes to the abrogation of a law which had menaced his extra-marital felicity —

*certe gavisa es sublatam, Cynthia, legem.*<sup>68</sup>

Perhaps the law had never been passed, only proposed. However, Propertius can be used to date the *Preface*.<sup>69</sup>

Caution is in place. It is far from clear that Livy conveys a reference to any legislative enactment of any year. What the author has in mind is the general condition of the Roman People over a tract of years. His words might apply to a time before the War of Actium.<sup>70</sup> Or a time subsequent. Or even both. Livy speaks of *vitia nostra*, interpreting a political crisis in terms of morality. What then are the *remedia* that are so hard to accept? Presumably order and concord. That is to say, in political terms, the acceptance of centralised government as the only guarantee of Rome's salvation. Compare the formulation adduced by men of understanding at the obsequies of Caesar Augustus — *non aliud discordantis patriae remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.*<sup>71</sup> If such is the

*remedium*, it cannot be expected that an imperial people with the tradition of the Republic can feel eager or happy in acquiescence.

It follows that Livy's words ought not to be tied and restricted to a precise date. His remarks would fit the aftermath of Actium when Caesar's heir stood supreme, *potentiae securus*; but they do not (it can be claimed) preclude a date subsequent to the settlement of 28 and 27 B.C. Disquiet lurked beneath the surface, stability was precarious.<sup>72</sup>

The common assumption is that Livy began to compose his history between 27 and 25 B.C.<sup>73</sup> It is a little premature. The *Preface*, by reason of its character and amplitude, is not merely the preface of Book I, but the author's general introduction, published at the head of a large section of the work (Books I-V at least). Similarly, the invocation of Octavianus at the beginning of the first book of the *Georgics* is the proem of the completed work, all four books. Such prefaces are commonly the latest portions to be composed. Moreover, there is no warrant that the name *Augustus*, perhaps even the whole sentence about the closing of Janus in 29 B.C., is not a later insertion, added at some time subsequent to the original composition of the narrative.<sup>74</sup>

Nor, another point, does the historian's use of *augustus* as an epithet furnish a clue. The word occurs, in the comparative form *augustior*, in relation to Hercules and to Romulus.<sup>75</sup> Hence the notion that Livy was writing Book I subsequent to January, 27 B.C.<sup>76</sup> Like other archaic and venerable words, *augustus* may now have been in fashion, otherwise it would not have been annexed for Caesar's heir on the proposal of the senior consular, the alert Munatius Plancus.<sup>77</sup>

So far guess and argument, much of it negative or inconclusive. Nothing forbids the conjecture that several books, say the first five, had been written before 27 B.C. Strong confirmation is furnished by an episode in Book IV. Livy narrates in vivid language the famous exploit of A. Cornelius Cossus, the *tribunus militum* who killed with his own hand Lars Tolumnius, the King of Veii, and consequently dedicated the *spolia opima* in the Temple of Juppiter Feretrius. Then comes a digression.<sup>78</sup> The author states that he had followed the consensus of the annalists, who described Cossus as a military tribune. But there was documentary evidence, the *titulus ipsis spoliis impositus*, which proved that the dedication was made by Cossus as consul.

Livy was apprised of the facts by Caesar Augustus himself, who had gone into the temple and read the inscription of Cossus, on a linen corslet. Livy bows to this authoritative pronouncement. As he says, it would be almost sacrilege not to.<sup>79</sup> He then proceeds to register a

difficulty: not only the annalists in concert but also the *libri lintei* cited by Licinius Macer put the consulship of Cossus a decade later. But that year (428 b.c.) could not be suitable for an exploit of war — there was indeed a whole *triennium* of inactivity because of plague. Finally, referring to commands held by Cossus still later, he deprecates speculation — *vana versare in omnes opiniones licet* — and ends on a firm and ironical note of confidence: Cossus cannot have perjured himself with a mendacious inscription in the sight of Juppiter and Romulus.<sup>80</sup>

The historian did not go and look for himself; and in the course of his narrative, when he reaches the consulate of Cornelius Cossus, he makes no modification.<sup>81</sup> The antiquarian digression is probably a later insertion by the author.<sup>82</sup>

The question of the *spolia opima* was irrelevant to Livy. Not so to Caesar Augustus. Nor was the master of Rome moved by a generous impulse to rescue from error a deserving but uncritical historian: high politics were involved.<sup>83</sup>

In 29 b.c. M. Licinius Crassus, proconsul of Macedonia, defeated the Bastarnae in battle and slew their chieftain, Deldo. Crassus claimed the *spolia opima*.<sup>84</sup> That honour had been earned by no Roman general for two centuries and was all but forgotten, save by antiquarians.<sup>85</sup> The spirit of the times and the policy of the government encouraged the revival of ancient practices. This manifestation, however, was most distasteful to the young Caesar, who monopolised for himself all military glory and who, precisely in these years, aspired to the renown — and even to the name — of Romulus. A way was found.

According to Cassius Dio, Crassus could have dedicated *spolia opima* — if he had been the holder of full and paramount *imperium*.<sup>86</sup> That is to say, consul not proconsul. Dio (it is true) attests no claim presented, no debate, no disallowance. But what he registers is instructive. The passage in Livy permits a step further: dispute and the mooting of historical precedents. The inscription of Cornelius Cossus is sharply relevant. It demonstrated that only a consul qualified for the *spolia opima*.

It is not clear that the official argument against Crassus was above reproach, let alone the *pièce justificative*. Was the inscription authentic? On a document of the fifth century b.c. the holder of the supreme *imperium* would surely have been designated as *praetor* rather than as *consul*. Hence a suspicion of forgery somewhere.<sup>87</sup>

Or was Octavianus the victim of an honest mistake? Most modern accounts postulate his good faith, an assumption that would have startled most contemporaries of that young man, whatever their political

allegiance. One scholar has in fact devised an explanation. The *cognomen*, *Coso*, he suggests, was barely legible: Octavianus read it as *cos*. But here too a question arises. Would *cognomina* have occurred on early documents?<sup>88</sup>

Despite these objections, scholars have been found to accept the inscription as "certainly contemporary" and as "conclusive evidence".<sup>89</sup> Hence large assumptions, not only about the veracity of Octavianus but about the preservation of fragile documents through long centuries.<sup>90</sup>

All manner of venerable objects were kept in temples. They tend to survive, whatever the fate of the edifice — conflagration or ruin and collapse. For example, the augural staff of Romulus was found undamaged when the Chapel of the Salii was destroyed by fire.<sup>91</sup> Or again (and most significant), the statue of Fortuna and its vestments in the shrine in the Forum Boarium. The vestments were nothing less than the toga woven by Tanaquil for Servius Tullius (the learned Varro vouched for it), and they survived intact, defying worm and decay, for five hundred and sixty years down to the catastrophe of Sejanus. So far the elder Pliny.<sup>92</sup> Another authority (Dionysius of Halicarnassus) affirms that the original Temple of Fortuna had burned down; the statue itself escaped (being gilded), but everything else was the product of restoration.<sup>93</sup> The fire happens to stand on record. It occurred in 213 B.C.<sup>94</sup>

The sixth King of Rome is only a century earlier than Cornelius Cossus. Garment for garment, there is not much to choose. But motive intervenes. The opportune discovery of important documents in sacred edifices tends to happen when political morality — and paleographic science — are at a low level. Caesar's heir was no novice — suspicion must attach to the extracts from the last will and testament of Marcus Antonius, produced at the proper time and recited with the proper effect, before the Roman Senate, a few years earlier.<sup>95</sup>

The restoration of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius was undertaken at the suggestion of Atticus, so his friend and biographer, Cornelius Nepos, records.<sup>96</sup> Atticus, a sound scholar, was the most learned student of prosopography in that age. The objects preserved in the temple may have excited his personal curiosity. Atticus died on March 31, 32 B.C.,<sup>97</sup> therefore a certain time had elapsed since operations began. Not only the fabric but perhaps the dedications required and received the attentions of the restorer. Such works were not always carried out in any spirit of superstitious reverence for ancient materials. The shrine itself was in a sorry condition — roofless and falling down, according to Cornelius Nepos.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, Augustus in the *Res Gestae*

does not name it on the list of buildings repaired but reckons it among his own new constructions;<sup>99</sup> and Livy describes Augustus as *ipsius templi auctor*.<sup>100</sup>

When did Augustus visit the temple? Perhaps in the company of Atticus, before the rebuilding. That is to say, four or five years before the revelation made to Livy. The original inscription may no longer have been in existence when its tenor became a matter surpassing antiquarianism.

Crassus was voted a triumph in 29 B.C., but this is not necessarily the date of his uncomfortable demand and its official rejection. The proconsul of Macedonia fought another campaign, in the next year. It was perhaps not until late in 28 B.C., on Crassus' return to Italy, that the manner in which he proposed to stage his triumph became a political issue, namely not merely the procession to the Capitol, but the dedication of the spoils stripped from Deldo the Bastarnian. Crassus was a *nobilis*, grandson of a great political dynast, rival in military glory and coeval with Caesar's heir. The armed proconsuls were the greatest menace to his primacy.<sup>101</sup>

The unseasonable ambitions of Crassus (it has been suggested) were one of the things that constrained the heir of Caesar to publish his Restoration of the Republic on January 13, 27 B.C.<sup>102</sup> An attractive notion, recalling history from doctrine or propaganda to facts and personalities. On the other hand, it was easy for the new Romulus to discern, without that incident or incentive, the utility of a *res publica* (not sentimental but practical); and the process of advertising a return to normal government had begun quite early in 28. No sooner was the process deemed and proclaimed complete than the ruler took special powers, namely a vast *provincia* for ten years, abolishing proconsuls in the territories of main military importance and danger. That solution could have been devised without M. Licinius Crassus.

Livy (it can be divined) benefited from a helpful admonition of Augustus after 28 B.C., after he had recited (or even published) Book IV. The inception of the work therefore lies a few years back. How far? A recent theory, that of Bayet, dates the completion of Books I-V before the years 31-29 B.C.<sup>103</sup> Bayet suggests that Book I was first of all published separately; then Books II-V; then, in 27-25 B.C., a second edition of Books I-V, along with Books VI-X. Further, by 19 B.C., Livy had finished Books XI-XXX.

That is an earlier dating than any hitherto advocated. In some ways it is attractive. To be in a position to issue Books I-V in the period

31–29 B.C., Livy must surely have made a beginning in 34 or 33 B.C. He needed time and practice to find his method and his style.

The arguments, it must be admitted, are not altogether cogent. Livy, giving in Book I a solemn account of the dedication of the shrine of Feretrius by Romulus, makes no mention of Augustus' rebuilding — or of the rebuttal of Crassus' claim.<sup>104</sup> Hence Bayet argues that this book, and probably the following books as well, down to Book IV at least, were written before 31–29 B.C.<sup>105</sup>

That is logical but not convincing. Juppiter Feretrius was only one among the numerous constructions of Augustus — *templorum omnium conditor aut restitutor*.<sup>106</sup> Still less was the historian of regal Rome bound to mention the failed pretensions of Crassus. Livy was not really interested in the precise qualifications for the *spolia opima*; he only inserted a note in Book IV after being admonished by Augustus; and he probably regarded the whole business as a vexatious perturbation in a smooth and satisfactory narrative, which had been guaranteed by the consensus of the written sources. It was nuisance enough when annalists were discrepant. Observe his remark three chapters further on — *Licinio libros haud dubie sequi linteos placet; Tubero incertus veri est. sit inter cetera vetustate cooperta hoc quoque in incerto positum.*<sup>107</sup>

Nor should the general question of artistic propriety be omitted from any discussion of what an ancient writer ought, or ought not, to say.

In Book I the historian paid an adequate tribute to the unique quality of the *spolia opima*. His observations were not rendered obsolescent by an abortive incident in his own day (the claim of Crassus). He says *bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.*<sup>108</sup>

Livy did not want to disfigure the annals of early Rome, poetic and legendary, by the continual obtrusion of modern names and modern incidents. The closing of Janus he could hardly avoid; and the antiquarian note in Book IV was forced upon him. Livy's technique in reflecting or suggesting the present is careful and subtle. Observe, for example, the speech of the tribune Canuleius in Book IV.<sup>109</sup> The orator expounds doctrines of some political moment. Not only the claim of merit against pedigree, adducing Kings of Rome who were *novi homines*. He argues that, since the City is destined to endure for ever, and will grow all the time, new forms of authority, *nova imperia*, can be expected to emerge. That formulation suits the avowed monarchy of Caesar's heir — it does not have to be assigned to the primacy of Caesar Augustus in the restored Republic.

Again, the firm stand of Camillus against a proposal to take the seat

of government from Rome to Veii.<sup>110</sup> It has a certain relevance to history, propaganda, or fiction about the time of the War of Actium. Scholars have not been slow to fix on the rumour reported by Suetonius that Caesar the Dictator intended to transfer the capital to the eastern lands.<sup>111</sup> Some take the notion very seriously and exploit it with conviction.<sup>112</sup> Too much has been made of this item. But it will be recalled as relevant that Antonius for long years had been ruling from Alexandria the eastern dominions of Rome.<sup>113</sup>

It was not left for Livy to be the first to produce an oration by Camillus. The legend had a long past. It had taken tone and episode from various epochs and individuals, including the Scipiones and Sulla.<sup>114</sup> Livy may owe much of his colour and emphasis to a writer thirty or forty years earlier.<sup>115</sup> Camillus, the Second Founder of Rome, is a link between Romulus and Augustus, to be sure.<sup>116</sup> But it does not follow that Livy, extolling Camillus, had his eye on the present all the time — or even very much.

In further support of an early dating, Livy's attitude towards the traditions of the *gens Iulia* is invoked — scepticism about Ascanius, an unfriendly portrayal of certain Julii. So much so that the pair of fulsome references to Augustus looks like a palinode or palliative.<sup>117</sup>

Mentioning Aeneas' son by Lavinia (Ascanius, the founder of Alba Longa), Livy states that it is uncertain whether this Ascanius is the same person as the Ascanius son of Aeneas and Creusa, also known as Iulus, whom the Julii claim as their ancestor.<sup>118</sup> What else could he say? The discrepancy existed. Once the Julii had identified Ascanius, son of Aeneas and Creusa, as Iulus it was hardly possible for them to have the advantage both ways, to claim descent from the Kings of Alba Longa as well, but they did their best. One form of the legend, presumably that current in the time of Julius Caesar, is preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>119</sup> It is highly instructive: Ascanius-Iulus founds Alba Longa, it is true, but not the dynasty, for that had to come from the union of Trojan and native blood. The next King is Silvius, son of Aeneas by Lavinia. Ascanius-Iulus takes a priesthood instead, so the Julii were able to assert a sacerdotal legitimisation, not unwelcome to Caesar the *pontifex maximus*.

For Livy, a full discussion of such traditions, combinations, or fictions would be tedious and inconclusive. As he sensibly remarks, *quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet?*<sup>120</sup> If, however, Livy be held lacking in respect towards the traditions of the Julian House, what shall be said of the conduct of the irreproachable Virgil? In the first book of the *Aeneid* he regards Ascanius-Iulus as the founder of Alba

Longa and ancestor of a line of kings.<sup>121</sup> In the sixth, however, not a word of Ascanius-Iulus; it is Silvius, son of Aeneas and Lavinia, who heads the regal pedigree.<sup>122</sup>

Livy's observations about certain Julii turn out to be harmless enough. Cn. Julius Menthō (*cos.* 431 B.C.) dedicated a temple of Apollo without waiting for the lot to decide between him and his colleague.<sup>123</sup> Both consuls, though otherwise on bad terms, had previously opposed the Senate's insistence that a dictator be appointed — Livy speaks of their *pravitas*.<sup>124</sup> In 408 B.C. two military tribunes with consular powers, C. Julius Iulus and P. Cornelius Cossus, were likewise recalcitrant.<sup>125</sup> It was not the habit of Livy to suppress or distort the accounts transmitted by the annalists; and there is no evidence that Augustus (or anybody else) bothered about the Julii of the fifth century B.C. Nor was his wife, Livia Drusilla, likely to take offence at Livy's account of the behaviour of her ancestor Salinator in his censorship, especially his *foedium certamen* with his colleague.<sup>126</sup>

Ascanius and the Julii can be dismissed. No unequivocal evidence demands the completion of Books I–V as early as the period 31–29 B.C. Their publication in 27–25 B.C., however, remains a reasonable assumption. Was it a second edition, supplemented by a further instalment, Books VI–X? Bayet appeals to certain indications in these books which appear contemporaneous in tone and feeling with the *Preface*. They are general references to the pernicious effects of wealth and luxury and to the Civil Wars.<sup>127</sup> They prove nothing. Official optimism is misleading. The memory of the Civil Wars did not fade all at once — nor did the dangers of their recrudescence. Peace had been proclaimed, but insecurity subsisted; and the moral regeneration of the Roman People had not become in any way manifest. Stability was guaranteed only by the leader of the Caesarian party. The health of Augustus was precarious. In fact, he nearly died, more than once. The tone and sentiments of the *Preface* might even have been in harmony with the contemporary situation, had it been composed as late as 23 B.C., the critical year that witnessed the conspiracy of Varro Murena and a rift in the Caesarian party.<sup>128</sup> The age was still *haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus*. Similarly the second ode of Horace's first book, though probably written in 28 B.C., is not out of date in 23 B.C., but highly relevant and worth quoting to illustrate the political situation.

There is no indication about the second Decade. A passage in the third, however, has arrested the attention of scholars. In Book XXVIII

Livy refers to the pacification of Spain, *ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris*.<sup>129</sup> That was not finally and properly achieved until Agrippa's campaign in 19 b.c. Hence it is often argued that the publication of Books XXI–XXX falls after that year.<sup>130</sup> Not necessarily. In the official conception, Spain was conquered by Augustus in 26–25 b.c. A loyal writer reflects it. Thus Velleius Paterculus, who suppresses all mention of the subsequent campaigns.<sup>131</sup> Augustus' ostensible conquest of Spain was the justification for the second closing of Janus in 25 b.c. Subsequent operations are irrelevant. The phrase of Livy, *ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris*, admits a precise interpretation — the *Bellum Cantabricum* conducted by Augustus in person (26 b.c.), and the campaigns of his legates in the next year while the *imperator* lay ill at Tarraco.<sup>132</sup> It is perfectly open for anyone to assert that the third Decade was written before 19 b.c. — and to deny it, if reason be shown.

It cannot be said that Bayet's case has been proved. Perhaps the strongest plea is the tone of the *Preface*, encouraging an early date, before the years of peace. For the rest, most of the positive arguments are singularly fragile. But something is gained. At the very least it can be taken that the years 27–25 mark, not the beginning of Livy's work, but the actual publication of a substantial portion, Books I–V. Perhaps some of those books had been completed two years earlier. When Octavianus returned to Italy, Virgil recited before him in Campania the four books of the *Georgics*.<sup>133</sup> The victor of Actium may also have been gratified in the year of his triumph by a first acquaintance with the newest historical compositions. But that notion is over-hazardous.

If Livy began his work about the time of the War of Actium — or, rather, shortly after it — certain conclusions emerge, of great moment for the history of Latin literature. It is a matter that far transcends the mere biography of Livy or the rhythm of his production.

According to the *Chronicle* of Jerome, both Livy and Messalla Corvinus were born in 59 b.c. Too late for the one, that date should also be too late for the other.<sup>134</sup> Even if born in 64, not 59, Livy by Roman standards was still youthful for a historian — history had normally been written by senior statesmen, as pastime or consolation. On the other hand, his character and tastes were already formed.

What preparation did Livy bring to his task? Some may toy with the notion that he discovered his vocation in youth and spent the years from twenty to thirty in historical studies.<sup>135</sup> Nothing in his writings lends any support. On the contrary.<sup>136</sup>

What then was his training and equipment? The Transpadane zone

of Italy could furnish a good education, as witness Catullus and Virgil; and Livy belonged (it is tempting to assume) to the "better sort" at Patavium.<sup>137</sup> Livy may have come late to Rome. Whatever be thought of the reproach of *Patavinitas*, there might be good cause for reckoning him provincial, not metropolitan, in his outlook.

Athens he perhaps knew not at all. A young man's visit would have fallen in the troubled period that interrupted the studies of Messalla, of Cicero's son — and of Q. Horatius Flaccus. Perhaps he went there in later life, in the season of his established fame.<sup>138</sup> But no clear sign can be discovered of travel anywhere else.<sup>139</sup>

Livy studied in the schools of rhetoric — and may have taught there. A professor, a certain L. Magius, married his daughter.<sup>140</sup> Further, Livy compiled for the use of his own son a treatise on style in the form of a letter.<sup>141</sup> This work was probably written after the beginning of his *Histories*. But that question defies certainty — and matters little. Livy came to history not from a career of politics, not from antiquarian pursuits, but from rhetoric.

Of the prose authors of Augustan Rome, Livy is the sole survivor. He is not altogether easy to estimate. The writing of history had its own requirements, also certain traditions and characteristics.<sup>142</sup> But the theory and practice of oratory can be invoked, on a sane and temperate view of Cicero's pronouncement that history is *opus . . . unum oratorium maxime*.<sup>143</sup>

The oratorical style in vogue in that age is well known from the specimens of declamations preserved by the elder Seneca, by his own comments — and his own practice. The new style was a development of the Asianic tendency; it aimed at swiftness, splendour, and point; it employed poetical and elevated vocabulary; and it often degenerated into bombast and preciousness.<sup>144</sup> Yet it had attractive qualities, such as that *vigor* which Seneca praised in T. Labienus, the orator and historian.<sup>145</sup>

Fashions changed rapidly in the revolutionary age, and the tyranny of the Triumvirs, by banishing oratory from the Comitia and the Senate, drove it into the schools. The prevalence of declamation dates from this period.<sup>146</sup> The restoration of the Republic was powerless to check the trend (how could it?); and the growth of despotism confirmed its sway. Declamation and the new style are inextricably bound together.

Livy stood by Cicero. He urged his son to read Demosthenes and Cicero, to esteem other writers by their approximation to the classic pair.<sup>147</sup> The eloquence of Cicero had quickly lost favour. Something

of it, however, was inherited by Messalla, to judge by descriptions of his oratory — elegant and ornate, but somehow lacking in force.<sup>148</sup> Of the orators after Cicero, Messalla should have been most to the liking of the young Livy; but Messalla was much at the wars; and no evidence reveals what friends, guides, and patrons the man from Patavium found in Rome of the Triumvirs.

There were various patrons of literature. Asinius Pollio had been the friend of poets, both of Catullus from Verona and of Helvius Cinna from Brixia (*tr. pl.* 44 B.C.).<sup>149</sup> He was also the first patron of Virgil.<sup>150</sup> If his interest in the rising talent of the towns of Transpadana directed his attention to Livy, their relations were not likely to be close or cordial. The elderly Cornelius Nepos, himself a Transpadane, was no doubt more accessible. He had been a friend of Cicero — and he was writing history (of a kind). The book *De viris illustribus* appeared about 35 B.C. Further, Nepos was on intimate terms with Atticus, who still survived, his vitality unimpaired.<sup>151</sup>

Now as later, Livy's life flows in a hidden stream. Nothing connects him with any of the great senatorial patrons of letters in Augustan Rome. The circle of Maecenas knows him not. His only attachment appears to be with the imperial family.<sup>152</sup> The paucity of anecdotes about one who acquired fame so early and lived so long is a remarkable fact. Of some half-dozen Livian opinions on questions of style preserved by the elder Seneca and by Quintilian, not one bears the stamp of verbal tradition. All of them look like quotations from his treatise on rhetoric.<sup>153</sup> Perhaps he was never long or frequently at the metropolis.<sup>154</sup> Were there enough books at Patavium? Enough, it should seem, for Livy's needs and methods as disclosed in what survives. But the narration of Augustus' reign would present problems of another order.

Livy set himself to write history in the manner enjoined by Cicero for that art, ample, smooth, and balanced — *genus orationis fusum atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam profluens*.<sup>155</sup> He did not achieve it all at once. The earlier books have an archaic and poetical colouring, especially Book I. That is due in large measure to the subject — but not entirely. A careful study of the development of Livy's prose style shows an increasing classicism.<sup>156</sup> As he goes on, the author drops certain vulgarisms, restricts the employment of frequentative verbs, and regularises his usage. Book I may be described as "modern" in execution as well as in style.<sup>157</sup> Subsequently there is a reversion to Ciceronianism, especially in the structure of sentences.

Livy was not only against the innovators. The Atticist tendency,

strongly "anti-Ciceronian", continued to enjoy high credit. Pollio, retiring from war and politics after his campaign in Macedonia (39 B.C.), soon became the most powerful literary influence in Triumviral Rome. The advocates of the plain severe style appealed to Attic models — Lysias for the orators, Thucydides for the historian.<sup>158</sup> Also to Roman tradition and Roman qualities. Atticism tended to imply archaism, with its vices as well as its virtues — deliberate harshness, concision pushed to the extreme of obscurity, broken jerky rhythms and a predilection for old-fashioned words.<sup>159</sup> Livy in the epistle to his son spoke with distaste of the orators who affect *verba antiqua et sordida* and succumb to obscurity in the pursuit of austerity;<sup>160</sup> and he criticised one of Sallust's adaptations from Thucydides.<sup>161</sup>

Livy's enthusiasm for Cicero was political as well as literary. The *municipia* were in general held to be the firm strongholds of the old Roman morality — the Transpadane region especially, with Patavium first in repute.<sup>162</sup> Republican loyalties were emphatic. In the War of Mutina, Patavium stood by the Senate against Antonius;<sup>163</sup> and when Pollio held the Cisalpina for Antonius he imposed severe requisitions on that wealthy city.<sup>164</sup> All in all, Livy, the pride and glory of Augustan letters, should perhaps be claimed as the last of the Republican writers.<sup>165</sup>

The impact of change and revolution produced a lively interest in the study of history and left a permanent impress on the manner of its writing. Sallust is the supreme and convincing document. Contemporary or recent history exercised the strongest attraction. Sallust died in 35 B.C., leaving his two monographs and his unfinished *Histories* covering the years 78–67 B.C. Another retired politician, Pollio, inherited Sallust's literary adviser, the learned Ateius Philologus.<sup>166</sup> And Pollio soon took up the tale, narrating the fall of the Republic from the consulate of Metellus and Afranius (60 B.C.) The earliest and most vivid echo of Pollio's *Historiae* is the famous ode of Horace, *motum ex Metello consule civicum*.<sup>167</sup> That poem admits of no close dating — yet it may be as early as 28 B.C.

Livy in his debut can also be claimed for the "Triumviral Period" if the term be extended to cover the years in which the heir of Caesar no longer bore the name and title of Triumvir, down to the return of "normal government" in 28 and 27 B.C. If that be conceded, those fifteen years emerge as the most vital epoch in all the literature of the Latins.

Livy, in his *Preface*, enounces the justification for telling once again

the story of the past — superior accuracy or a style surpassing the ancients in elegance.<sup>168</sup> An adequate defence. But men are impelled by a variety of motives, among them discontent with the times — and discontent with history as it is written.

The style of Sallust was repellent to Livy.<sup>169</sup> Not less the man and his opinions — the turbulent politician expelled from the Senate but restored by Caesar and enriched by civil war; the comfortable author of a depressing history; the austere moralist of equivocal conduct.

Nor did Pollio inspire esteem everywhere. The profession of Republican sentiments had not prevented him from espousing the cause of Caesar and of Antonius; and his fine spirit of independence did not counsel retirement from affairs until he had accumulated the handsome gains of a successful career. Wealth, station, honours, and security, all were his. Yet Pollio was a harsh and bitter man. His hostility towards Cicero was maintained beyond the grave; and he scorned the panegyrists of the great orator.<sup>170</sup> Pollio was later to express disapproval of Livy, denouncing him for *Patavinitas*.<sup>171</sup> No evidence survives of any retort from Patavium to Teate of the Marrucini. Livy's earliest experience of the methods of Pollio cannot have created a friendly predisposition — if, as may well be, his family was among the good citizens of Patavium penalised by the proconsul. No tradition, fable, or false erudition produces calamities in or after the Proscriptions such as are alleged to have befallen Virgil. The reason is clear. The poet attracted scholars, but not the historian.

Repulsion from Sallust and Pollio, the enemies of Cicero, may have reinforced Livy in his sentiments and helped to determine the tone and colour of his writing; and Livy in his turn may have served as foil to later historians. The ex-consul L. Arruntius (*cos. 22 B.C.*) narrated the First Punic War in a manner that was fanatically Sallustian.<sup>172</sup>

The deeper interest in history was not confined to recent events. It touched also the remote past. Varro had compiled massive stores of antiquarian erudition. Caesar, who had an expert's taste for ritual, encouraged such studies, for personal and for political reasons.<sup>173</sup> With Caesar's heir, the government intervenes deliberately to revive ancient practices and institutions. The policy antedated by many years the systematic Augustan programme of a moral and religious reformation — it goes back before the War of Actium.

Various tendencies converged — scholarship, romanticism, official exploitation. While the dynasts paraded like monarchs in the theatre of the world, emulating Alexander and the rulers in his succession, it

could be foretold, in the narrower sphere of Rome's history, that the age of the Kings was coming back. Etruscan predictions or theories of cosmic cycles corresponded with the facts.

On a conventional view, *rex* and *regnum* were names of abomination. A friendlier estimate was not excluded.<sup>174</sup> Not all of the Seven Kings had been tyrannical. Some, indeed, were irreproachable — Numa the Sabine, who ordained the religion of the early state, Servius Tullius, the author of a timocratic constitution, and also the friend of the Roman plebs. They could suitably be commended as virtuous *novi homines*.<sup>175</sup>

It would be strange if the young Caesar did not annex and exploit the myth of Romulus the Founder.<sup>176</sup> When he seized the consulate on August 19, 43 B.C., the omen of the twelve vultures was seen in the sky, so it was alleged (how soon, it is not clear).<sup>177</sup> An odd and neglected item registered under the year 38 might have some significance. The hut of Romulus on the Palatine caught fire as the result of some ritual operations (unspecified) that the *pontifices* were there performing.<sup>178</sup>

It is asseverated that the victor of Actium would have liked to have *Romulus* for *cognomen*, but in fact adopted *Augustus*. That choice, according to Florus (who may be reproducing Livy) was *sanctius et reverentius*<sup>179</sup> — and it also conveyed a strong suggestion of Romulus who founded the City *augusto imperio*.<sup>180</sup> The name, it could have been added, was also *tutius*. The Founder, in favour with soldiers and populace, was not altogether liked by the Senate. Livy, reporting the Assumption of Romulus, discloses a rumour: the Founder had been massacred by the *patres*.<sup>181</sup>

That was only, so Livy comments, a *perobscura fama*. The Romans loudly acclaimed their ruler as *deum deo natum regem parentemque urbis Romanae*. Similarly Camillus, the second founder. Like Romulus, he foreshadows the third, who is *Caesar, divi filius*.<sup>182</sup> Camillus was hailed as *Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis*.<sup>183</sup>

The formula applied to Romulus by Livy is solemn and even liturgical. It will be noted that early in the year 29 the name of the victorious *Divi filius* was added to the hymn of the Salii, the priests of Mars.<sup>184</sup>

Rome in the years before and after Actium furnished an abundance of spectacles to incite and inspire a historian — the triumphs, the ancient monuments rebuilt, the old rituals revived. In 28 no fewer than eighty-two temples were restored.<sup>185</sup> That is the claim of Augustus. Yet there had been considerable activity before that year. The generals of the Triumvirs had devoted war-booty to the embellishment of the City; and the interest in the Temple of Juppiter Feretrius also lies some years back.<sup>186</sup>

When war was declared against a foreign enemy, the Queen of Egypt, in 32, the thing was advertised as a *bellum iustum piusque* through the ritual of the *Fetiales*.<sup>187</sup> That venerable confraternity had not been heard of for more than a century. Then, after victory, Janus was closed in 29 (that had happened only once before since Romulus). And the *Augurium salutis*, a ceremony recently in abeyance, was brought back.<sup>188</sup>

Livy was no antiquarian — he lacked the passion for facts or the collector's mania. Nor did he exploit, as he might have, the rich stores of Varronian learning.<sup>189</sup> But the earliest history demanded a certain veneer of antiquarianism — and a style in keeping, with archaic formula here and there to suggest the immemorial past. There were also curious or picturesque episodes to be exploited, and legends that adhered to certain of the Roman monuments, such as the story of the Curiatii. Livy adduces the formula of trials for *perduellio*.<sup>190</sup> Also the ritual of the *Fetiales*, now of contemporary interest.<sup>191</sup> Cataloguing the institutions of Numa, however, he reveals no trace of the *Frates Arvales*. They had not yet been resuscitated by the ruler.<sup>192</sup>

In one of its aspects, Book I is a colourful and eloquent guide-book. Perhaps the first intention of Livy was to satisfy the growing public interest in the Roman past by producing what was beyond the capacity of professional scholars, a readable and lively account of early Rome.<sup>193</sup> Perhaps Book I in its original form was composed and published separately, some years before the books on the infant Republic, success inducing the author to conceive a larger design, and, as he was later to realise, much more than he had bargained for.

Yet it is likely enough that the plan of a general history of Rome, down to his own time, was present to him from the outset. In the *Preface* Livy acknowledges his affection for the most ancient history: it enables him to turn aside from contemplating "the calamities which for so long our time has witnessed". But, he adds, the public will be impatient for the recent and ruinous history.<sup>194</sup> Despite the protestations of historians, such disturbed and deplorable periods offer the widest scope for their talents — and they sometimes avow it.

Livy proposed to sweep the annalists off the board; to transcend mere antiquarianism; to honour famous men, but not as a biographer; and to assert a nobler view of human nature than was found in the pages of Sallust. His *Res Romanae* were to be moral, patriotic, and edifying, an exhortation, supported by the examples of the glorious past, to that rebirth of Rome which, when he wrote his *Preface*, was not yet even a programme but only an aspiration.

The significance of the Triumviral Period for Roman historiography

becomes evident, both in general and with reference to three men, Sallust, Pollio, and Livy. The eldest, Sallust, is in certain respects the most modern, for all the archaism of his vocabulary. The youngest is an anomalous figure. Sallust and Pollio were bitter and pessimistic; but Livy seems comparatively untouched by the era of tribulation. The Ciceronian features of his style make him something of a stranger in his own generation. His mind was formed before the Battle of Actium, his history begun before *pax et princeps* was firmly established.<sup>195</sup> Yet that history turns out to be the enduring monument of the spirit and the majesty of Augustan Rome. As with Virgil, Augustus was very lucky.

Ancient legends and the new monarchy — both Virgil and Livy illuminate their age. Virgil, who might have composed epics about the Kings (Alban or Roman) or a verse panegyric on the life and exploits of Caesar's heir, found in the *Aeneid* a subtle and superior device for linking the origins and destiny of the imperial city to the glorious present; and Livy narrated the annals of Rome from the beginning to their culmination with the establishment of the monarchy.

Did either influence the other? It appears not. They are independent, using the same material in much the same spirit.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, by time of writing the priority belongs to Livy, with Book I at least to his credit while Virgil was still completing the *Georgics*.

Livy (it has been said) is a kind of prose Virgil. A helpful conception. But the legends and fictions of regal Rome and of the early Republic are only a small portion of his achievement. A large question remains: how did Livy manage the history of his own time, the *municipalis eques* taking up the challenge of the senators Sallust and Pollio?

### III. THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

When the historian, having brought to completion the narrative of the Second Punic War, paused for a moment and looked ahead, he was filled with dismay. An ocean threatened to engulf him.<sup>197</sup> His apprehensions were well grounded. He had found his style, hence ease of composition, once the material had been grasped and digested. But the material kept expanding. Livy was slow to distinguish a good from a bad historian. His account of the period from Zama to Pydna does not reveal a master's hand in the manipulation of historical sources, or any gift for structure.

His predicament got worse and worse as he advanced towards his

own day. The record became abundant and intricate, perplexing and hazardous. It was no longer enough to stand by a single annalist, noting the more important variants, or, using several, to strike a mean of general probability and glide with graceful scepticism over the harmonies or discordances of fable and invention. The safe and venerable annals of the Roman past gave place to real history, alive and recalcitrant.

Such was Asinius Pollio's history of his own time. It was acclaimed by Horace with due sense of the peculiar hazards attendant on the task. It was in truth *periculosa plenum opus aleae*.<sup>198</sup> Pollio was promenading his Muse across the ash and lava of a recent eruption — *per ignes/ suppositos cineri doloso*. The ground was firmer when Livy, some twenty years later, came to tell of the fall of the Republic.

Many of the traps and pitfalls had been removed, or at least explained away. The professions of the victorious party underwent a rapid metamorphosis. Having abolished the Republic, Octavianus pretended to restore it; and Caesar's heir came to terms with Caesar's enemies. There ensued a certain rehabilitation of Pompeius — and even of Cato. It was therefore possible for Livy to write as a *Pompeianus* without fear of any reproach from Caesar Augustus.<sup>199</sup> The Princeps himself could approve of Cato as a good citizen who (like himself) did not wish the law and the constitution to be subverted.<sup>200</sup> Caesar was the "divine" parent of Octavianus, avenged and honoured by the *pietas* of his son. Hence a double advantage. The deification of Caesar rendered it easy to depersonalise him, to dissociate *Divus Julius* from *Dictator Caesar*. Of Caesar the Dictator there is scant mention in Augustan literature: blame rather than praise.<sup>201</sup> Livy debated whether Caesar's birth were not a greater curse than blessing to the world.<sup>202</sup> The testimony of Virgil is parallel — and convincing. No place for Caesar in the ancestry of Caesar Augustus. He is thrown out of that context and introduced later, only to be exhorted in solemn tones to disarm before Pompeius. Neither is named, but they are designated as *socer* and *gener* in a political and matrimonial compact that had lapsed.<sup>203</sup>

Pompeius and Cato were conveniently out of the way before Octavianus appeared on the scene. Therefore freedom of treatment was not merely permitted but encouraged by Augustus. Very different was the history after 44 B.C. What was to be said of the career of Caesar's heir — treachery and violence, proscription and murder? Many of the actors in that tragedy were still alive.

A member of the imperial family was incited to the study of history by the example and the counsels of Livy. It was the young Claudius,

the son of Drusus.<sup>204</sup> Unfortunate, however, in his first choice of a subject. He wanted to write about the Civil Wars. His mother, Antonia, and his grandmother, Livia, frightened him off, so he fell back upon the years of peace, the reign of Caesar Augustus.

The government was unable to suppress the entire truth about the revolutionary period. Too many of the opponents of Octavianus, both Republicans and Antonians, were extant, some of them occupying positions of profit and eminence in the new order. As was pertinently remarked, the victor recruited his friends and allies from the ranks of his adversaries.<sup>205</sup> The national and patriotic front that won the War of Actium was a peculiar conglomeration. Many of the adherents of Octavianus had a past to live down; traitors to every cause, such as Munatius Plancus. Some kept silent. Others were not ashamed of the part they had played. The eloquent and patrician Messalla Corvinus was proud to have fought at Philippi, under Brutus and Cassius.<sup>206</sup> And rightly. Men of lesser station would be no less eager to affirm that they had been there, when *Virtus* was shattered and the Republic went down before the Caesarian armies. If Messalla (and other Republicans) had not written their memoirs and recalled their loyalties, there was the redoubtable Pollio, Caesarian and Antonian in allegiance, Republican in spirit, and, before all else, ferociously independent.

Furthermore, despite victory, peace, and restored Republic, the new dispensation was precarious and insecure. Caesar Augustus could not rule without the consent and support of the nobility. Some rallied to the government. Hence, in a year of crisis (23 B.C.), Cn. Piso, a Republican, appointed consul, and L. Sestius, once quaestor of M. Brutus. At the same time, the heroes and the ideals of the Republic were accorded especial honour by the heir of Caesar. It is easy enough for a government to filch and furbish up the forms and phrases of its adversaries, and Caesar Augustus operated with dexterity. There was also a genuine and tangible revival of the Republic — the old houses came back, to public honour and perhaps to hopes of power. The emergence of the *nobiles* is significant. Not for some time after Actium, despite certain aristocratic partisans already in the alliance of the victor, such as Messalla Corvinus and Paullus Aemilius Lepidus. Twelve or fifteen years elapsed; and, a little later, several families became very important in the period when, Agrippa dead and Tiberius in exile at Rhodes, Augustus, frail and decrepit, needed the alliance of the aristocracy to safeguard the dynasty and to secure the succession for his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius.<sup>207</sup>

For these reasons a historian might, if he chose, fortified by illustrious examples — and perhaps by the favour of families in the *nobilitas* — narrate the history of the Civil Wars from a Republican or Pompeian point of view, without risk or censure. Ostensible independence might well be profit and advantage. There was an easier path. The Republican and the Caesarian versions might be combined. Why not? The heir of Caesar blended Caesarism with the Republic in his *novus status*.

Livy was able to benefit from the official version of Triumviral history. It can be recovered in various ways. On epigraphic record, the *Res Gestae* of Augustus preserve the outline. The *Autobiography* of the Princeps was more explicit. Its influence can be traced in many details, surviving in subsequent historians, where the actions of Octavianus called for apology. Livy, and later writers, whether they drew on Livy or not, provide adequate evidence.<sup>208</sup> The general argument of the *Autobiography* can be summed up — *pietas*, *necessitudo rei publicae*, and *clementia*. The claims of *pietas*, neglected by Antonius (the disloyal Caesarian who was ready to come to terms with Brutus and Cassius) enforced the duty of revenge against the assassins of Caesar. There was no alternative to armed action; it was justified by patriotism; and the victor was merciful.<sup>209</sup>

Further, to save the faces of old enemies — and new associates — various scapegoats were available. Sex. Pompeius was displayed as a pirate, Lepidus as a decayed and pretentious relic, Marcus Antonius as a voluptuary, the slave and victim of the strange woman. The War of Actium was not a civil war but a crusade against a foreign enemy. *Nefas, Aegyptia coniunx.*<sup>210</sup>

The blame for the proscriptions might be laid upon the other Triumvirs, Antonius and Lepidus. Yet the murder of Cicero was most awkward. Young Octavianus had flattered and honoured him, had called him by the name of "father".<sup>211</sup> The cardinal virtues of *pietas* and *clementia* ought to have intervened to save the great orator. They did not avail. Cicero perished. Caesar Augustus might revive, from interested motives, the memory of Pompeius Magnus and of Cato. Cicero, like Brutus, remained under a cloud, a fact which should perplex those who prefer to see their Roman history through the eyes of both Cicero and Augustus, with no thought of all the Romans who distrusted both of them. The style of Cicero quickly became unfashionable. Nor is it easy to believe that his political ideals were studied, admired, and adopted by Caesar's heir and his associates in power. There is cited, to be sure, an improving anecdote. "A great writer and a great patriot", so Augustus said to one of the young princes, his

grandsons.<sup>212</sup> That is not enough. More instructive is the cool judgment which Livy, who was a fervent admirer of Cicero, passed on the last actions and tragic end of his hero. Cicero (he pointed out) suffered from his enemies only what he would have done to them had he prevailed.<sup>213</sup>

An official version of recent history thus facilitated the task of Livy. The paths of duty and of inclination coincided, for the victorious cause, by liberating Rome from the threat of foreign domination, by establishing peace, order, and concord, had shown itself to be the "better cause".

Unfortunately, the material difficulty subsisted. The story was rich and complex — and so was the written record. The chief history available was that of Asinius Pollio. No doubt sound on facts, but not of a suitable "tendency". The *Historiae* of the eminent consular, which probably ended with the Battle of Philippi, were critical and subversive. As for memoirs, the Princeps' *Autobiography* led the field. Dominant all through for the interpretation of events, it was perhaps the sole available source for such matters as the campaigns in Illyricum in 35 and 34 B.C. Further, Agrippa, Messalla, the ex-Antonian Q. Dellius — and no doubt many other authors — had their contributions to make. Biographies were also written of illustrious Romans in the recent past — friends, relatives and clients left their memorials of Marcus Brutus.<sup>214</sup> Again, it might be necessary to consult letters, speeches, or despatches for information not otherwise available. For example, the oration which Sallust composed for the great Ventidius may have been an important source for the eastern wars in 40–38 B.C.<sup>215</sup> Above all, the literature of propaganda and abuse, ranging from the missives interchanged between Octavianus and Antonius to such *curiosa* as Antonius, *De ebrietate sua*, or the erotic correspondence between Q. Dellius and the Queen of Egypt (entertaining but not perhaps authentic).<sup>216</sup>

Patent partisans and the grosser fabrications need not have given much trouble. But there was room almost everywhere for slight and subtle misrepresentation, especially in the order and interaction of events. The years 44 and 43 B.C. were especially complex, if they were to be narrated as political history (and not, as happens so often in modern times, as a part of the biography of Cicero). Even now it is difficult to disentangle the truth about such matters as the allotment of provinces before and after Caesar's death, though here (it must be admitted) some of the confusion may be due to the errors or misrepresentations of historians later than Livy.<sup>217</sup> The actors were numerous, their evolutions

intricate. For example, when was the important meeting of the Senate to have occurred about which Cicero was informed at Leucopetra (near Rhegium) early in August of 44: on the first day of August or on the first day of September?<sup>218</sup> Or, when did Brutus decide to take possession of Macedonia? After Octavianus' march on Rome (he entered the city on November 10), or after the session of the Senate on November 28?<sup>219</sup> To avoid error, perpetual vigilance was necessary, a steady consultation and comparison of documents. It would not look well for a historian with a world-wide reputation to confess doubt or ignorance about facts which could be ascertained by the exercise of care and diligence.

Livy narrated the story of the years 44 to 29 in great abundance of detail. From the advent of Octavianus to the Battle of Philippi no fewer than eight books were needed (CXVII–CXXIV); and nine more down to the triumph of Octavianus (CXXV–CXXXIII). Not the easiest, but, along with the appendix on the reign of Augustus, surely the most difficult section of the whole work.

It remains to examine the last nine books (CXXXIV–CXLII), the guiding theme of which was presumably *res publica restituta*. From the outbreak of the war between Pompeius Magnus and Caesar, the history of Livy was the history of his own time: he now had to deal with events that had occurred since he began his work.

At first sight, a welcome change of subject after the long years of confusion and calamity. The dangers that threatened to destroy Rome and shatter the *imperium* of the Roman People had been arrested; certain unsatisfactory persons had been eliminated; others were converted to political sanity. Morality returned to public life — or at least a firm and central control. The *res publica restituta* was a blessing for a historian. History itself, like the Roman State, had been brought back into the right and traditional path. In the briefest of Roman definitions, the Republic consisted in the government of annual consuls, chosen by election. And the Republic subsisted until such election was abolished, in fact until A.D. 14. After long labours and wanderings Livy could revert to the annalistic method — *annos a consule nomen habentes*.<sup>220</sup>

The material now grouped itself around the proper activities of Senate, People, and magistrates. Free elections returned, but managed (one presumes). There were some electoral contests (in 22–19 B.C.), until such an exercise of *Libertas* was seen to be pernicious or futile. Comitial legislation came back, dignified by a Princeps bringing before

the sovereign People a programme of moral reform and social regeneration. The majesty of the Roman name was advertised when ambassadors brought gifts and homage from distant peoples, from the Scythians, from the lands towards the Caucasus, from India; the *patres* heard with pride the reports of victorious proconsuls and voted them honours; and petitions from the Hellenic cities recalled the grants and dispositions of the imperial Republic that had broken and abased the monarchs in the succession of Alexander.

Above all, the antiquarian operations of the government provided rich material for an annalistic record of the accepted scope and content — games and ceremonies, temples dedicated or restored, ancient observances brought back to life. The celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, or the choice of a *flamen Dialis* (the first for seventy-five years), demanded learned digressions, combining, for an artistic historian, the claims of tradition and variety. Further, the installation of Augustus as *pontifex maximus* and the dedication of the *Ara Pacis* were important acts of public policy.

The private beliefs of the educated were irrelevant to the ritual and the fabric of the state religion. They cannot still have believed in portents and prodigies. But such manifestations had not abated in the last age of the Republic. A shower of bricks fell from the heavens when Milo was prosecuted; and a mule giving birth foretold civic dissensions.<sup>221</sup> Livy, it is true, deplored the fact that faith had vanished in his own day, that there were no more *prodigia* on official record or in the pages of historians.<sup>222</sup> His regrets disclose his ignorance, or a thoughtless reverence for pious antiquity. When he came to narrate the reign of Augustus, he was not disappointed. Portents continued duly to be reported, as is shown not merely by Cassius Dio but by a writer who took his examples from Livy.<sup>223</sup> Fire, flood, and pestilence were not infrequent visitations.<sup>224</sup> With the record of such matters, and with the deaths of illustrious men (loyal servants of the Republic and the dynasty), the annals of each year might find a suitable termination.<sup>225</sup>

So far the structure. The rest was not at all easy. A later writer, Cassius Dio, reveals the truth about imperial history.<sup>226</sup> Hitherto, he says, the more important transactions came to public notice and passed into historical record; the truth, even though deformed by favour or prejudice, could more or less be ascertained. Now, however, secrecy began to envelop the acts of the government, and the published account of events was naturally suspect, as being the official version. The facts were unknown, fiction and variants everywhere rampant. In any case the very magnitude of the Empire and the complexity of its

government tended to debar from exact knowledge anybody not directly concerned.

When Livy began to set down in writing the annals of *res publica restituta* (perhaps towards A.D. 6),<sup>227</sup> he had few, if any, predecessors. Livy appears to have the field largely to himself. His previous achievement was enough to deter competitors from encroaching; and it had earned him the rank of the official Roman historian.

What other writers were there? Despite the interest in history aroused by the revolutionary age, the Principate of Augustus can show few historians. Apart from Livy, they are little more than names, and hardly any of them seem to have dealt with the years of peace and order after the end of the Civil Wars.

The consular historians L. Arruntius (*cos. 22 B.C.*) and C. Clodius Licinus (*cos. suff. A.D. 4*) dealt with an earlier period, perhaps in emulation of Livy.<sup>228</sup> A certain Cornutus has been disinterred, who appears to have written about the Civil Wars: surely of slight importance.<sup>229</sup>

For the rest, in the list of historians contemporary with Livy (apart from mere biographers or scholars), only three names deserve any consideration, and they can quickly be dismissed. The *Historiae Philippicae* of the learned Narbonensian, Pompeius Trogus, reached the reign of Augustus in two of its sections, the Spanish wars and Parthian history. The latest event to be mentioned was the surrender of prisoners, military standards, and hostages by the King of Parthia.<sup>230</sup> Trogus' work was universal in scope, and it conceived history from the Macedonian, not the Roman, point of view. The date of its publication is uncertain, perhaps before 2 B.C.<sup>231</sup> It is doubtful whether Livy needed, or cared, to use it. When Trogus wrote, something (and perhaps a lot) of Livy had already been published, for Trogus criticised Livy's practice of inserting speeches in direct discourse.<sup>232</sup>

T. Labienus, a *Pompeianus* of a very different breed from Livy, was not only a famous speaker. He wrote histories, parts of which he refused to make public.<sup>233</sup> Labienus was an irreconcilable adherent of the defeated cause: surely of no use to Livy, even had he narrated the later years, of which there is no evidence. The same tendency was represented, perhaps in a milder form, by A. Cremutius Cordus, prosecuted in A.D. 25 "because he had praised Brutus and called Cassius the last of the Romans".<sup>234</sup> Further, Seneca, in a treatise to his daughter, asseverates that he damned the authors of the Proscriptions to eternal infamy.<sup>235</sup> However, it is stated that Augustus had been present at recitations of his work.<sup>236</sup> Cordus dealt also with the beginnings of the reign. He is quoted by Suetonius for an incident in 18 B.C., hardly of a

kind to commend itself to Augustus: on the occasion of the *lectio senatus*, senators were only admitted to the Curia one by one, and after bodily search.<sup>237</sup> The completed work may not, in fact, have been given to the world before, or much before, A.D. 25. It may — or may not — have been an important source for later writers.<sup>238</sup> In any case, there is no evidence that Cordus' account of the years after Actium was composed before Livy's epilogue.

Nor would Roman pride descend to the use of Greek sources if it could be helped. Livy had not, it appears, consulted Posidonius for the Gracchan period.<sup>239</sup> Nor is it likely that he drew upon certain inferior competitors or successors of Polybius for contemporary affairs — Strabo, Nicolaus, and Timagenes. As for Strabo's *History*, it probably ended at 30 B.C. when Alexandria fell, the last of the Ptolemies perished, and the last of the Hellenistic kingdoms lapsed to the empire of the Romans.<sup>240</sup> Nicolaus, however, fluent in 144 books, went down to 4 B.C.<sup>241</sup>

Nieolaus and Strabo were of about the same age as Livy. Timagenes of Alexandria was a little older. The influence of his work, invoked by some scholars for another section of Livy, the geographical digressions on Gaul and Germany in Books CIII–CIV, is not easy to ascertain.<sup>242</sup> Timagenes was an objectionable fellow, anti-Roman in spirit — *felicitati urbis inimicus*.<sup>243</sup> Cast off by the Princeps, he was harboured by Pollio. If his name lurks under the disdainful plural of the *levissimi ex Graecis* in an early book of Livy, who extolled the fame of Alexander and favoured the Parthians against Rome, it is irrelevant to the present enquiry.<sup>244</sup>

Livy was therefore compelled to collect, digest, and shape the material for himself — official documents, verbal information, and his own reminiscences. That useful guide, the *Memoirs* of Caesar Augustus ended very soon, with the campaign of the Spanish wars which was conducted by the Princeps in person, namely the *Bellum Cantabricum* of 26 B.C.<sup>245</sup> That fact had a perceptible effect on the tradition. Augustus in the *Autobiography* narrated only his own exploits.<sup>246</sup> Therefore the operations of the column of invasion commanded by the Princeps in 26 B.C. were recorded in detail.<sup>247</sup> Little or nothing was said about the other two columns of the army of Hispania Citerior, or about the other army, that of Hispania Ulterior.<sup>248</sup> For the campaigns of the next year, historians had to use other sources — and were probably guilty of a serious error about the order of events, namely the capture of the town of Lancia by P. Carisius, Augustus' legate in Hispania Ulterior. That action is narrated at the end of 25 B.C. It clearly belongs to the beginning of a campaign, probably that of 26 B.C.<sup>249</sup>

The *acta senatus* provided the kind of material that Livy needed, a pretty full account of official business. One of the ruler's earliest acts had been to suppress the publication of this record.<sup>250</sup> Yet access would not perhaps have been denied to an approved person such as Livy, although he was not a senator. In the Senate's archives stood, among other things, the speeches of Augustus and other pronouncements of significance for public policy. About military events, provincial governors in their despatches furnished detailed evidence, often with an eye to honours. According to Cassius Dio (under the year 19 B.C.), many proconsuls not only aspired to triumphs but celebrated them, for no other merit than suppression of brigandage or the establishment of internal order in the cities of the Empire.<sup>251</sup> That is an exaggeration. After Sex. Appuleius (January, 26 B.C.), the only proconsuls to be voted triumphs were Sempronius Atratinus and Cornelius Balbus, both from Africa (21 and 19 B.C.). Nor was the Princeps silent about the successes achieved in the wide territories of his own *provincia*. Later, however, as the imperial system developed, the Senate came to learn less and less about the provinces of Caesar; and certain military operations, failing to find public record, might easily escape the notice of history. For the time of Augustus, certain geographical information goes back to the *acta senatus*, for example the full record of towns and tribes traversed by Balbus in his march to the land of the Garamantes, in the far south, in Fezzan.<sup>252</sup> Similarly, curiosity is excited by Pliny's brief notice about the tribe of the Homonadenses in the Taurus, Homana their capital and their forty-four *castella*.<sup>253</sup> This may well derive from the record of grant of *ornamenta triumphalia* to the legate P. Sulpicius Quirinius for his successful campaign (of unknown date).<sup>254</sup>

To supplement or elucidate official documents, it might be expedient for an historian who was not a senator to question those who knew. Livy was on terms of amity with the household of the Princeps, as witness Augustus' decisive revelation about the *spolia opima*, and the interest shown in the historical studies of young Claudius. Otherwise there is a singular absence of evidence about patrons and friends.

Without the *acta senatus*, he would have been in a sorry plight. The case of Strabo is in point: the city or cities where he wrote (and revised) his *Geography* seem to have put him out of touch with information about contemporary wars. One example will suffice. Balbus' march to the land of the Garamantes was sheer delight for a geographer. Strabo knows nothing of it.<sup>255</sup>

Livy may have had access to the *acta senatus*. A large part of his narrative was devoted to wars — from choice, for it recalled an earlier

and happier period, and from necessity, to avoid awkward topics and fill space. Whereas the two books of which the *Periochae* are missing (CXXXVI and CXXXVII) appear to have covered the years 24 to 17 B.C. inclusive, and the next carried the record to the beginning of 12 B.C. (CXXXVIII, mentioning the death of Agrippa), the last four books embrace the four years of Tiberius' and Drusus' campaigns in Illyricum and Germany (12–9 B.C.). A splendid theme. As a later historian was mournfully to remark, his Republican predecessors had all the luck — *ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges.*<sup>256</sup> Livy on the campaigns of the two Claudii did his best to put himself back in the atmosphere of the foreign wars in the great age.

This was the culmination of the grandiose Augustan plan of conquest in central Europe. Many diverse operations had prepared the way; and almost every other region of the Empire had been subjected to a process of methodical consolidation, especially Spain, the Alpine lands and the Balkans. Noteworthy, for example, is the variety of campaigns chronicled by Cassius Dio in resumptive sections, under 25 B.C. and 16 B.C. (the latter covering the events of 19–16 B.C.).<sup>257</sup> It follows that military operations of the period 28–9 B.C., having been recounted in Livy's annals, stood a better chance of surviving in the literary tradition than certain campaigns subsequent to 9 B.C. Later writers, whether they had drawn on Livy or not, tend to be thin and inadequate for the military history of the next dozen years. This is partly, but not wholly, due to the fact that Livy stopped at 9 B.C. It must be recalled that Velleius makes deliberate omissions for political reasons; and the text of Dio is defective in the period 6 B.C.–A.D. 4.<sup>258</sup>

The veteran historian had had plenty of practice at military narration, but the geography should have given him some trouble. In the subjugation of the Northwest of Spain, the legions of Augustus penetrated to regions untouched by the armies of the Republic. New ground was also broken in central Europe. Drusus reached the Elbe; and Tiberius extended the bounds of Illyricum to the Danube. It must be conceded, however, that exact and up-to-date geographical knowledge was not demanded of Roman historians.<sup>259</sup>

Tacitus' account of the campaigns of Germanicus (perhaps designed to recall Livy to his readers) shows how much could be done. Yet even the writing of military history, innocuous theme, could not be entirely free from preoccupation in the time of Augustus. The prestige of Princeps and dynasty was paramount. The official version celebrated the Spanish campaigns of 26 and 25 B.C. as the final conquest, justifying Augustus' second closing of the temple of Janus. Yet there was serious

fighting in 24 and 22 B.C.; and in 19 B.C. Agrippa completed the subjugation of the Northwest. In fact, there is good cause for speaking of a ten years' war in Spain.<sup>260</sup> It was easy enough for a dishonest writer like Velleius Paterculus — profound peace in Spain, not even disturbed by brigandage after Augustus left the peninsula.<sup>261</sup> A scrupulous annalist had to record the detail of the wars in Spain, to the end. At the same time, bright colour and high relief for the Princeps' campaign in 26 B.C.

Nor was it desirable that the exploits of his stepsons should be clouded by a too emphatic commemoration of other generals. All students of the *Odes* of Horace know that the Alpine lands were conquered in 15 B.C. by the swift and convergent campaign of the two Claudii, Tiberius and Drusus.<sup>262</sup> The preliminary and necessary operations have all but lapsed from record. From the side of northern Italy P. Silius Nerva prepared the way for Drusus; one source only records his activities.<sup>263</sup> In Gaul the predecessor of Tiberius was M. Lollius. Partisan history, best represented by Velleius, saddles him with a serious disaster.<sup>264</sup> A milder and better tradition, however, has been preserved.<sup>265</sup> Velleius' version can easily be explained. Lollius was a bitter enemy of Tiberius, if not now, at least later.

Again, Tiberius' conquests in Illyricum (12–9 B.C.) were prepared and facilitated by the operations of M. Vinicius, proconsul of Illyricum (14–13 B.C.), and by Agrippa himself (his last achievement) in the winter of 13/12 B.C.<sup>266</sup> If, as every theory assumes, Livy was narrating these events after A.D. 4, discretion was required of the historian. Agrippa was long dead, but Vinicius was one of the generals employed by high commands during the period of Tiberius' exile at Rhodes — and like others, dropped after A.D. 4.<sup>267</sup>

If the foreign wars of the restored Republic demanded circumspection, what of internal affairs? The truth could not be told, even if it could be ascertained. When Tacitus was composing his *Histories*, civil war and despotism the theme, he professed to reserve for his old age the history of that happy and contemporaneous epoch, the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. He did not carry out his promise (not that it should so be regarded), but turned back to the period of the Julii and the Claudii. For a number of good reasons. A similar difficulty confronted Livy. The new order, the *felicissimus status*, was not all that it seemed to be. What was he to say about such episodes as the alleged conspiracy of Varro Murena in 23 B.C.? A consul had to be discarded and destroyed, one of the leading partisans of Augustus, no less than the brother-in-law of Maecenas. Moreover, there was the whole

dynastic policy of Augustus, his ambitions for Marcellus, and the secret struggle for power in that year when Augustus seemed close to death.

No historian gives a satisfactory account of those transactions — let alone an interpretation. It is a suspicious fact that in the narrative of Dio the conspiracy should be postdated and put in 22 B.C., not 23.<sup>268</sup> Nor does any ancient source explicitly record the grant to Agrippa of a share in the provincial *imperium* of Caesar Augustus. It only emerges indirectly.<sup>269</sup>

By eschewing high politics and keeping anxiously to a dry and annalistic record, it was still possible for Livy to write a history of the years 28–9 B.C. that should not be an uneasy amalgam of adulation and mendacity, like Velleius. But he could not go much further.

The real history is secret history. If that were not implicit in the new dispensation from the outset, it was revealed and demonstrated by the events of the years 6 B.C.–A.D. 4. Tiberius abruptly refused to support and facilitate the dynastic policy of Augustus, insistent for the succession of his grandsons Gaius and Lucius. Then came the scandal and disgrace of Julia, the Princeps' daughter — or rather the “conspiracy of the five *nobiles*”; and the young Caesars, inadequate bearers of a great name and unworthy of their parentage, passed away. Augustus was constrained first to permit the return of Tiberius and then to adopt him, with a share of the imperial powers. The Claudian was now *vindex custosque imperii* (A.D. 4).<sup>270</sup> Internal and domestic politics had suffered a revolutionary change. It was not merely that one plan of succession had failed, to be replaced by another. An important nexus of noble houses, standing behind the dynasty in those difficult years, saw its high ambitions frustrated. The enemies and the rivals of Tiberius were now displaced; and a new group of families came to the fore, some with Pompeian blood, many with Pompeian allegiance.<sup>271</sup> More trouble for the historian, many occasions for giving personal offence, not least if he tried to be impartial. Yet impartiality was out of the question.

It required the peculiar talents of Velleius Paterculus to do justice to these transactions.<sup>272</sup> The departure of Tiberius shook the whole world — the Germans rebelled and the Parthians seized Armenia. His return meant that Rome's rule would be eternal. Peace, tranquillity, security, salvation dawned for mankind; the sanctity of the family and of property was guaranteed. Only loyalty to Augustus had induced Tiberius to go away to Rhodes — *mira quaedam et incredibilis atque inenarrabilis pietas*. He did not want to stand in the way of the young princes, but such was Tiberius' modesty that he concealed the reason. Patriotism brought him back.

On the other side stood the unsatisfactory Julia and her depraved paramours; and, as a scapegoat for the conduct of Gaius Caesar, his guide and counsellor, M. Lollius, who fell from favour and was removed by a providential death, to the general rejoicing. Tiberius was indispensable to the Empire. Nobody else was of any use. Hence, in Velleius, silence about the exploits of Roman generals at this time, with one exception (M. Vinicius, who was the grandfather of his patron). This is one of the most obscure decades of imperial history.

Velleius, it is true, wrote nearly a generation later than Livy. His work reveals the rapid growth of adulation; it is almost a caricature of the methods imposed by the new system of government on the writing of contemporary history. Velleius takes to himself credit for *candor*, that is, a flattering portraiture of the right kind of people.<sup>273</sup> Livy was prone to benevolent appraisals.<sup>274</sup> But Livy is held an honest man, though disquieting signs can be discovered in the earlier books of patriotic expurgations, of the remodelling of incidents for a moral or didactic purpose.<sup>275</sup> How was Livy to proceed? Politics could perhaps be avoided (though only by the exercise of great skill) in the narration of the early years of the Augustan Principate, for the government had been able in a large measure to suppress the evidence of internal discord. The period 6 B.C.–A.D. 4 unfolded a series of terrible revelations. How was Livy to write of these matters? He had to stop. The year 9 B.C. was the ideal date.

The occasion was melancholy — the death of Drusus in Germany, returning from the campaign that took him to the river Elbe. But it called for proud commemoration of Rome's imperial task, of the achievement of the dynasty, of the *virtus* of the Claudi. Funeral laudations were suitably delivered by Augustus and by Tiberius. The poet Horace had celebrated the exemplary qualities of the young Claudi — aristocratic breeding reinforced by moral training. The bright promise had been amply fulfilled; and there were just reasons for acclaiming the *pietas* of Tiberius, who, learning of his brother's mishap, hastened by forced marches to the scene, crossing the Alps and the Rhine.<sup>276</sup> A splendid example of the traditional Roman virtues — and a refutation of the *solita fratrum odia* that tend to disfigure the history of dynasties. The obsequies of Drusus will have provided a subject congenial to the talents of the historian — pageantry, the evocation of generals of the Republic, and the generous comments of sagacious men.

The wars of Tiberius and Drusus in 12–9 B.C. were the high epoch of the Augustan conquests. To advertise the achievement, the *pomerium* of the city of Rome was extended in 8 B.C.<sup>277</sup> Further, in the years 7–2

B.C., a large number of soldiers were released from service and furnished with bounties in money.<sup>278</sup> Janus should surely have been closed — and so the Senate had voted — after the campaigns of 11 B.C., but a Dacian incursion frustrated the proposal.<sup>279</sup> Yet Janus was in fact closed a third time by Augustus. The only indication of date (2 B.C.) comes from the confused narrative of Orosius, which presents considerable perplexities.<sup>280</sup> However, if the third closing of Janus took place subsequent to 9 B.C., it could still have been mentioned somewhere by Livy in his epilogue (and hence have percolated to Orosius). Likewise the disaster of Varus, though much later (in A.D. 9). The manuscripts of the *Periochae* end with the phrase *clades Quinctilii Vari*. It would be easy to suspect an interpolation — and quite unnecessary.<sup>281</sup>

Livy, though not a flatterer and a timeserver, did not write his contemporary annals in utter oblivion of political considerations. His account of the years down to 9 B.C. must have been coloured by the fact that, despite vicissitudes, Tiberius had in A.D. 4 turned out to be the destined successor of Augustus. The catastrophe of Varus was a severe shock. It was expedient to exculpate the government — not so very easy, for Varus was a “political” appointment, being the husband of one of the great-nieces of the Princeps, Claudia Pulchra. It may be conjectured that Livy’s brief notice of the *clades Variana* tended to exalt by contrast the successes of Tiberius in Germany — and elsewhere. Varus took the blame. Velleius’ narrative duly gives the explanation — the personal incompetence of that corrupt and slothful character.<sup>282</sup> In truth, a better general than Varus might well have come to grief.

The year 9 B.C. therefore appears to be both a necessary and an attractive terminal date. At some time or other Livy had decided to go on after 29 B.C. as far as that year. Perhaps there was a short interval in his activity after he had completed the books on the Civil Wars. Who shall tell? Perhaps by A.D. 1 he had reached the end of Book CXXXIII, a reasonable output for some thirty years of steady labours, though more recently the task had grown more difficult and more complex. The political change in A.D. 4 may have encouraged him to continue, for it indicated what was the proper and safe treatment of the years 28–9 B.C. The composition of the appendix (Books CXXXIV–CXLII) may belong to the years A.D. 6–10.

If the statement attached to the *Periocha* of Book CXXI is to be accorded credence, it could be argued that Books CXXI–CXLII were not published until after the death of Augustus.<sup>283</sup> That is possible.

The writing of contemporary history was delicate as well as laborious. Moreover, the death of the Princeps might provoke a crisis in Roman politics. Anxious rumours were current. In fact, though certain of the formalities at Rome might cause friction, the government was ready for the emergency, being in proper control of provinces and armies. The decision had been made long ago, in A.D. 4. Still a historian might prefer to take no chances.

Despite the fair prospect announced by Velleius Paterculus, the last ten years of Augustus' reign was not a happy period — disasters abroad, insecurity at home, scandal in the dynasty.<sup>284</sup> One symptom was the suppression of offensive literature. Bonfires were decreed by vote of the Senate. The histories of the Pompeian Labienus were among the condemned books. Labienus took the manuscript with him to the family mausoleum and there committed suicide.<sup>285</sup> Livy was in no danger. That very fact may have moved him — it was invidious to publish in security when others were penalised for their freedom of speech.

Another reason might be invoked, of a technical and literary character. Livy's history would contain speeches by Augustus. To insert the original documents would be a sin against the artistic canons of ancient historiography. Instead, he would have to compose orations in his own style and manner. Yet there might be something awkward and incongruous in the publication of speeches attributed to a person still living — especially if he were the head of the State. Sallust had not done so, or, so far as is known, Pollio. A speech was meant not only to expound a policy but to express in a vivid and direct fashion a character; and Roman historians did not insert character-studies of the living.

So far a hypothesis, based on the *dicitur* in the *Perioda* of Book CXXI. The fragility of this testimony will be borne in mind.<sup>286</sup> It might be merely a "tradition", or a scholastic inference, deriving from the notion that the twenty-two books in question could never have been given to the world while Augustus yet lived. It may be, indeed, that the final nine were only published after A.D. 14. But there is something else. Discarding defective evidence, one can argue that Livy himself pre-deceased the Princeps. He may have died not in A.D. 17 but about A.D. 12.<sup>287</sup> However that may be, it is likely enough that the writing of his epilogue falls in the period A.D. 4–10.

An approximate date for the composition of the last portion of Livy's history has been suggested. It is tempting to speculate about his treatment of the reign of Augustus. What were Books CXXXIV–CXLII

really like? The meagre *Periochae* and other scraps give little guidance. Florus and Orosius are remarkable for their full and concordant accounts of the Cantabrian campaign of 26 B.C., certainly deriving from an abbreviation of Livy and ultimately from the *Autobiography* of Caesar Augustus.<sup>288</sup> Otherwise, however, those authors are an occasion of much perplexity. A brief indication must suffice. Orosius sandwiches the campaigns of Drusus in the Alps and in Germany and the African war of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (A.D. 6) into the period of Augustus' sojourn in Spain.<sup>289</sup> Then, after Augustus' return, follows a string of anachronistic wars introduced by the words *quibus etiam diebus, multa per se multaque per duces et legatos bella gessit*, ranging from a campaign of Piso against the Vindelici (which may never have happened) to the disaster of Varus, ending with Agrippa's operations in the Black Sea (14 B.C.), the surrender of standards and hostages by the Parthians — and the third closing of Janus.<sup>290</sup>

At first sight Florus appears to preserve a more logical order.<sup>291</sup> He narrates the wars of the period in thirteen sections. Yet his arrangement is peculiar — he begins with the conquest of the Alpine lands (15 B.C.), and, after narrating the Spanish War, concludes with a mention of peace with Parthia, the closing of Janus (apparently that of 29 B.C.), and the conferment of the name *Augustus*. In detail, Florus is confused (as in his account of the Spanish War); the German wars pass at once from Drusus to Varus, with no mention there or anywhere else of Tiberius; and, like Orosius, he mentions several matters subsequent to 9 B.C.<sup>292</sup> The elucidation of Florus and Orosius presents a pretty problem for "Quellenkritik".

Cassius Dio no doubt read Livy to the end; but his account of this period does not appear to reflect Livy in any way after 29 B.C.<sup>293</sup> It could be argued that his full account of the campaigns of M. Crassus in Thrace is Livian. Dio narrates them under 29 B.C. In Livy, however, they do not appear until 27 B.C., after Augustus' departure to the provinces of the West, to judge by the *Periochae*.<sup>294</sup> Crassus' triumph, celebrated in July of that year, was therefore the justification for that arrangement of events — which was skilful. It took Crassus' exploits, and especially his claim to the *spolia opima*, out of the chronological sequence that led up to the "constitutional settlement" of January, 27 B.C. The affair of Crassus was perhaps a factor of some moment.<sup>295</sup>

In fact, Dio can be invoked as negative testimony, to show how Livy did not write — and could not write : secret politics, scandal, anecdote and depreciation of the government. It will suffice briefly to examine a short section of Dio's work, covering the years 18–16 B.C. Take the

following items:<sup>296</sup> incidents in the purging of the Senate, such as Augustus' wearing of a cuirass; the opprobrious treatment of Lepidus, the *pontifex maximus*; Antistius Labeo's spirited and witty refusal to belong to a bodyguard for the protection of the Princeps; awkward episodes in the moral legislation, such as the malicious insistence of senators that Augustus should tell them what rules of conduct he enjoined upon his own consort; the anecdote about the actors Bathyllus and Pylades; the gossip about Augustus' relations with Terentia, the wife of Maecenas.

Livy's treatment of the period 28–9 B.C. was a reversion to Republican annals. Like the Princeps in his public utterances, the historian asserted continuity with the Republican past. It was the fashion. But it was more than that. Livy was following the bent of his own nature and the tradition of his birthplace. But the men from northern Italy had also a strong imperial patriotism. The two loyalties were not inconsistent.<sup>297</sup> Livy, like others of his class and sentiments, the nonpolitical order in society, rescued and preserved by the new dispensation, acclaimed the rule of Caesar Augustus without feeling dishonest. The Romans were conscious of long development in the history of their state, they knew the need for change and innovation. Livy makes the tribune Canuleius state this axiom of Rome's destiny — *quis dubitat quin in aeternum urbe condita, in immensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura gentium hominumque instituantur.*<sup>298</sup> Livy's argument was adopted by his pupil, the Emperor Claudius, to justify a revolutionary innovation in the recruitment of the Roman Senate.<sup>299</sup>

Referring to *nova imperia*, Livy had recent or present developments in mind. To seek to reconstruct Livy's justification for the new political order would not be an idle or ambitious speculation. In brief, three arguments: the Empire is so large that it can only be preserved by a single ruler; the establishment of the Principate had been accompanied by violence — but only such as was inevitable; the result is liberty without licence, discipline without despotism.

Those pleas are put forward by one set of *prudentes* at the obsequies of Caesar Augustus, in Tacitus' presentation.<sup>300</sup> They also occur in the parallel passage in Cassius Dio which (it is plain) derives likewise from one of the earlier historians.<sup>301</sup> Nothing precludes the notion that formulations of this kind went back a long way — even to contemporaries.<sup>302</sup>

Such, in outline, may have been Livy's annals of *res publica restituta*. Some may have fancied that his narrative of those years was destined to

be decisive in its influence on later historians. That expectation is not borne out by the facts. Except for Censorinus, nobody appeals to Livy as the authority for any detail or opinion: that is the only quotation from Books CXXXIV–CXLII that happens to have survived.<sup>303</sup> Dio's procedure is significant. For Augustus he goes to historians who wrote under his successors. They are little more than names. The prosecution and suicide of Cremitius Cordus may have earned a publicity that his work was far from deserving. But impressive testimony asserts the merits of Aufidius Bassus and M. Servilius Nonianus (*cos.* A.D. 35).<sup>304</sup> This is not the place to raise the question of Dio's main source for the reign of Augustus. Perhaps, as some argue, Aufidius Bassus.<sup>305</sup> It may be that these historians disregarded Livy completely or used him only for the outline of events, and for such matters as the campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus. Aufidius also published a separate monograph on the *Bella Germaniae*, which may have been a continuation of the wars after the death of Drusus, embracing the period down to the triumph of Germanicus in A.D. 17. As for annalistic history, Livy's sources were available to Aufidius and Servilius, and they perhaps wished to write a very different kind of history.

Livy's style was obsolescent, his sentiments distasteful or irrelevant. The bright promise — or the skilful camouflage — of Augustus faded before the suspicion that *principatus* meant in fact *dominatus*. When it is not adulation, imperial history tends to be an attack, open or covert, on the imperial system. The person of Augustus, the founder of the dynasty of Julii and Claudii, was more or less protected: but the history of his reign gave opportunities for unfriendly portrayal. Livy's annals did not provide the material, for he had not been able to record the real and secret history of the dynasty.

Livy's annals of Augustus were written in joyful acceptance of the new order, in praise of the government and its achievements. Their tone was moral, their colouring benevolent. Unlike most earlier historians, he set out to provide, not only guidance for the politician, but models for the conduct of the common man.<sup>306</sup> The direction which the Principate had taken justified a return to the sombre and pessimistic conception of politics and of human nature that Sallust had made classical. In sentiment as in style, Livy does not fit into the development of Roman historiography that links Sallust to Tacitus.

From that line of succession a further reason debars him. The writing of history was regarded as a proper occupation for the statesman in retirement: it was not a career and a profession in itself. Livy began to write history without having learned how history is made.

If Cassius Dio can be taken as a guide, Livy, canonical for Republican history, was less influential for the history of the Triumviral period — and little regarded for the reign of Caesar Augustus. Indeed, at an earlier stage, when Dio had the choice between Livy and Sallust as sources for the campaigns of Lucullus, he chose Sallust.<sup>307</sup>

The reasons are not far to seek. It will be asked: was Livy at his best in Books CXXXIII–CXLII? May not those contemporary annals have exposed some of his characteristic weaknesses — his docility, his benevolence, his disinclination to grapple with historical problems, his lack of political penetration?

As is natural, the opinions of ancient critics about Livy bear upon his style, rather than his qualities as a historian. Yet the ancients would not have admitted a sharp distinction between form and substance. Certain literary judgments that have been preserved go deeper than style and execution. Pollio, so it is stated by Quintilian, blamed Livy for *Patavinitas*. An enigmatic utterance, and responsible for interminable discussion. What does it mean — style and colour, syntax, vocabulary, or even orthography? The context in which Quintilian records this observation suggests a criticism of words and idiom — Transpadane expressions comparable to the solecisms of Etruria, Praeneste, or the Sabine land.<sup>308</sup>

Quintilian, however, does not seem to be positive or explicit enough. He cites no examples, he neither admits nor rejects the allegation. Perhaps it was “a tradition of the schools”. The opprobrious word uttered by the disdainful consular may have been meant to convey much more than a reproof for the use of local idiom. Rather a general lack of *urbanitas*.<sup>309</sup> Or perhaps something deeper. Patavium was a smug, opulent *municipium*. *Patavinitas* might be taken to connote the rich and ample discourse of an improving publicist.<sup>310</sup> In short, all that history should not be.

Caligula, spurning the classics of Augustan Rome and the literary models of his uncle Claudius, declared that Livy was careless and verbose.<sup>311</sup> Caligula is no guide to orthodox opinion. Yet the verdict of a scholarly and authoritative critic is disquieting. Quintilian’s description, *lactea ubertas*, “a rich creaminess”, was not produced in praise of a historian.<sup>312</sup> In another place, with sensible remarks about the education of the young, he says that Livy is a diet for boys, Sallust for men: Sallust is the *maior auctor*,<sup>313</sup>

## NOTES

1. E. Schwartz, *RE* III 1698; M. A. Levi, *Il Tempo di Augusto* (1951), 415ff.
2. See, e.g., O. Rossbach in his edition of the *Periochae* (Teubner, 1910); A. Klotz, *RE* XIII 823ff.; M. Galdi, *L'Epitome nella letteratura latina* (1920).
3. *Hermes* XLIV (1909), 198ff.; XLVIII (1913), 542ff.; *RE* XIII 823ff.
4. *Philologus* XCI (1936), 67ff.
5. Above, p. 65.
6. Strabo XVI 748. M. Titius, the legate of Syria, received the hostages. His tenure probably falls in 13–10 B.C.
7. *Per. CXXXIX: sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo; CXLI: Chumstinctus et Avectius, tribuni ex civitate Nerviorum.*
8. Cf. O. Rossbach, ad loc.
9. H. Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* XXVII (1872), 539ff. Klotz enjoins caution (*RE* XIII 820).
10. CSE XXXV 456.
11. The latest attempt is that of J. Bayet in his edition of Book I (Budé, 1940), XIff. He suggests four groups for the period in question, viz. XXXI–XL; XLI–XLVII; XLVIII–LII; LIII–LXX.
12. Book XLIX seems a better beginning than XLVIII (which Bayet favours). The *Periocha* opens with *tertii Punici belli initium*, etc.
13. Cf. Florus II 6.1: *si verum tamen volumus, illud civile bellum fuit.*
14. A different conception invokes in contrast to Livy the wider and Italian sympathies of Asinius Pollio. Thus E. Gabba, *Appiano e la Storia delle Guerre civili* (1956), 82ff.
15. Thus Bayet, o.c. XIII.
16. Eutropius V 3.1; Orosius V 17.1.
17. Viz., LXXI–LXXVI, the Italian War; LXXVII–XC, to the death of Sulla; XCI–XCVI, Pompeius' reconquest of Spain; XCVII–CIII, from Crassus' victory over the Slaves to the triumph of Pompeius; CIV–CVIII, Caesar's conquest of Gaul; CIX–CXVI, from the outbreak of the Civil War to the death of Caesar; CXVII–CXXXIII, from the advent of Octavianus to the end of the Civil Wars; CXXXIV–CXLII, from the salutation of Octavianus as *Augustus* down to 9 B.C.
18. Cf. H. Peter, *HRR* I<sup>2</sup> (1914), CCCXL.
19. *Ad fam.* V 12.2.
20. To support a venturesome and vulnerable thesis, Carcopino put the abdication after the consular elections in the summer of 79 B.C., *Sylla ou la monarchie manquée* (1931), 265ff.
21. As suggested by E. Gabba, commenting on Appian, *Bella civilia* I 103.480 (in his edition of that book, 1958).
22. Orosius V 22.2, cf. 23.1 (four great wars under the consular date of 78 B.C.).
23. Eutropius V 9.2; VI 1.1.
24. Sallust, *Hist.* I 1 M.
25. As Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* XXVII (1872), 546; Bayet, o.c. XIV. The fact that Book XC contained Sulla's death has presumably misled them. But Sulla's abdication would have been a better date for terminating a period of history.

26. Cf. M. Pohlenz in '*Επιτύμβιον* Swoboda (1927), 201ff.

27. Compare the *senatus consultum* of 8 B.C. concerning the month of August, notable for victories, but especially because *finisque hoc mense bellis civilibus impositus* (Macrobius I 12.35). Also Velleius II 89.3; *finita vicesimo anno bella civilia*, and Tacitus, *Ann.* III 28.1; *exim continua per viginti annos discordia*. For definitions of *bella civilia* in relation to Lucan's plan, cf. R. T. Bruère, *CP* XLV (1950), 217ff.

28. Bayet's division (o.c. XIV) of the history of 91–79 B.C. into two groups, six books and fourteen (LXXI–LXXVI and LXXVII–CX), is not attractive.

29. Thus Bayet (o.c. XIV). Klotz (*RE* XIII 819) also assumes a break at the end of Book CIII and a new section beginning with CIV — *prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet*. Both scholars follow the *Periocha* of CIII which terminates with the triumph of Magnus. But it cannot be believed that Livy neglected to narrate the triumph of Pompeius (61 B.C.) until he had recounted Caesar's campaign against the Helvetii (58 B.C.). The editor of the *Periochae* does not deserve such confidence.

30. *Per.* CIII: *conspiratio inter tres civitatis principes facta est*. Cf. Florus II 13.8ff. (valuable here). Orosius neglects the notion entirely.

31. H. M. Last, *CAH* IX (1932), 349.

32. Plutarch, *Pompeius* 25.

33. Appian's conclusion is notable (*Bella Civilia* IV 137.577ff.).

34. Seneca, *Suas.* VI 21: *hoc semel aut iterum a Thucydide factum, item in paucissimis personis usurpatum a Sallustio, T. Livius benignius omnibus magnis viris praestitit*.

35. Velleius II 71.2.

36. *Res Gestae* 34.

37. Dio LIII 1.1. The passage has generally been misunderstood by constitutional precisians, e.g. in *CAH* X (1934), 123. Or, by others, passed over, e.g. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 306.

38. For this notion, cf. *Tacitus* (1958), 375; 408.

39. Since Crassus was not allowed to celebrate his triumph until July of 27 B.C. (cf. above, p. 44ff, for these transactions), there was perhaps an excuse for narrating his campaigns under 27 (i.e., in CXXXIV). But not under 26.

40. Appian, *Bella Civilia* V 130.54ff.

41. Above, p. 42f.

42. XXXI 1.2: *profiteri ausum perscripturum res omnis Romanas*.

43. Nissen went so far as to affirm that six more books would be required (*Rh. Mus.* XXVII (1872), 558). Compare also A. Klotz, *RE* XIII 818; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der r. Literatur* II<sup>4</sup> (1935), 300; A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung u. Quellenkunde zur r. Geschichte* (1921), 146. Bayet (o.c. XI) hints at "une date plus caractéristique, peut-être la mort d'Auguste". Also M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (1947), 80: "Livy's original plan may have been to carry his *History* down to the death of Augustus, an event which he himself only survived by three years."

44. *Aen.* VIII 714f.

45. Quoted in Pliny, *NH*, *praef.* 16: *satis iam sibi gloriae quaesitum, et potuisse se desidere, ni animus inquietus pasceretur opere*.

46. *RE* XIII 818, cf. Bayet, o.c. XV.

47. A. Klotz, *RE* XIII 818: "offenbar hat ihm der Tod die Feder aus der Hand genommen"; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der r. Literatur* II<sup>4</sup> (1935), 300:

"wenn ihm nicht der Tod die Feder aus der Hand nahm"; A. Rosenberg, o.c. 146: "der Tod entriss ihm die Feder"; A. H. McDonald, *OCD* (1949), 509: "he probably died pen in hand".

48. *RE XIII* 819. Cf. Bayet (o.c. XVI): "la tradition manuscrite des *Periodae* nous atteste bien que le livre CXXI fut composé après la mort d'Auguste." Also A. Rostagni, *La letteratura di Roma Repubblicana ed Augustea* (1939), 389, cf. 456. Like other scholars, Rostagni suggests that Livy referred to the death of Caesar Augustus in CXXI — and referred to his own continuance in writing (attested by Pliny, *NH, praef.* 16).

49. Thus O. Rossbach in his edition (Teubner, 1910), XXIII.

50. Above, p. 30.

51. Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 299. U. Kahrstedt arrived at an average of 100–108 days per book (*Gesch. der Karthager* III (1913), 143).

52. Bayet, o.c. XXV: "la rapidité croissante du travail de l'historien, attestée pour les derniers livres."

53. Bayet, o.c. XVI: "la rapidité de composition des derniers livres, où l'historien avait moins de questions à développer." Wight Duff assumed the fact but essayed no explanation (*A literary History of Rome to the close of the Golden Age* [1909], 642).

54. Above, p. 70f.

55. *Chron.* p. 164 H (under the Year of Abraham 1958): *Messalla Corvinus orator nascitur et Titus Livius Patavinus scriptor historicus*.

56. For these and other items consult the full and careful study of R. Helm, "Hieronymus' Zusätze in Eusebius' Chronik und ihr Wert für die Literaturgeschichte", *Philologus Supp.* XX II (1929).

57. H. Schulz, *De M. Valerii Messallae aetate* (Prog. Stettin, 1886), 6.

58. Conspicuous and all but solitary is G. M. Hirst, *CW* XIX (1926), 138f.=*Collected Classical Papers* (1938), 12ff.

59. *Chron.* p. 164 H. Dio, however, narrates the death of Gallus under 26 B.C. (LIII 23.5ff.). It is illicit to combine that date with Jerome's statement of the poet's age and put his birth in 69 or 68, as Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 170. Cf. observations in *CQ* XXXII (1938), 40.

60. *Chron.* p. 171 H.

61. For the evidence, R. Helm, o.c. 46ff.

62. Thus *PIR*<sup>1</sup>, V 90; F. Marx, *Wiener Studien* XIX (1892), 50ff. The fact that Frontinus (*De aq.* 102) records under A.D. 13 the appointment of another *curator aquarum* after Messalla was clearly allowed predominant weight — and it is not easy to explain away.

63. *Ex Ponto* I 7.29f., cf. *Tristia* IV 4.25ff.

64. Thus J. A. Hammer, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messallae* (1925), 10; Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 23.

65. The recent article on Messalla Corvinus (*RE VIII A* 136) asserts that the evidence points "einheitlich" to A.D. 13. R. Helm, discounting the data in Jerome, came to the conclusion that the orator was apparently dead before A.D. 1 (o.c. 51).

66. I 19.3.

67. *Praef.* 9.

68. Propertius II 7.1.

69. This was first suggested by H. Dessau, *Festschrift O. Hirschfeld* (1903),

461ff. His view is generally registered with respect (e.g. Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 300), or firmly accepted (A. Rosenberg, o.c. 147).

70. I owe this point to Mason Hammond.
71. Tacitus, *Ann.* I 9.4. Cf. *Hist.* I 1.1: *omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit.*
72. Above, p. 49.
73. E.g., A. Klotz, *RE* XIII 818; Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 300; A. Rosenberg, o.c. 147.
74. W. Soltau, *Hermes* XXIX (1894), 611ff.; J. Bayet, o.c. XVII. Hammond supports this opinion strongly.
75. I 7.9; 8.2. Observe also *Praef.* 7: *ut . . . primordia urbium augustiora faciant.*
76. L. R. Taylor, *CR* XXXII (1918), 158; G. M. Hirst, *AJP* XLVII (1926), 347ff.=*Collected Classical Papers* (1938), 1ff.
77. Velleius II 91.1, etc.
78. IV 20.5-11.
79. IV 20.7: *prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cocco spoliorum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem.*
80. IV 20.11: *Iovem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes.*
81. IV 32.4 (428 B.C.): *qui priore bello tribunus militum . . . spolia opima Iovis Feretrii templo intulerit.*
82. As suggested by W. Soltau, *Hermes* XXIX (1894), 611ff.; *Livius Geschichtswerk, seine Komposition und seine Quellen* (1897), 18. Bayet claims other insertions in Book IV (Budé, 1946, 125). On Livy's methods of composition in this book see R. M. Ogilvie, *JRS* XLVIII (1958), 40ff.
83. First divined by Dessau, *Hermes* XLI (1906), 142ff.
84. Dio LI 24.4.
85. Dio reports a vote of the Senate that Caesar should have the right to dedicate *spolia opima*, even if he had killed no enemy general (XLIV 4.2). That is a patent anachronism — and instructive for the estimate of certain other honours allegedly voted.
86. Dio LI 24.4.
87. Thus Dessau, o.c. 142ff.
88. O. Hirschfeld, *Kl. Schriften* (1913), 398f.
89. *CAH* VII 507f.; X 125.
90. The difficulty could be got around by supposing that the family restored the inscription in a more recent age. Thus J. H. Bishop, *Latomus* VII (1948), 187ff.
91. Cicero, *De div.* I 30.
92. Pliny, *NH* VIII 197. With this goes the remarkable fact reported by Dio (LVIII 7.2) that Sejanus had a statue of Fortuna in his house — i.e., taken from the Forum Boarium. The vestments perished, it can be assumed, on October 18, A.D. 31. For a reconstruction, cf. *Hermes* LXXXIV (1956), 257ff.
93. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* IV 40.
94. Livy XXIV 47.15, cf. XXV 7.6.
95. For the problems concerning this document, see now J. Crook, *JRS* XLVII (1957), 36ff.
96. Nepos, *Atticus* 20.3.
97. *Ib.* 22.3.

98. *Ib.* 20.3: *cum . . . vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur.*

99. *Res Gestae* 19.

100. IV 20.7.

101. The triumph had been voted him jointly to Octavianus and to Crassus; and, according to some accounts, says Dio (LI 25.2), it was only the former that took the salutation of *imperator*. It is in fact the seventh, registered in 29 B.C. (*ILS* 81). Crassus, however, was allowed to celebrate a triumph, but not until July, 27 B.C.

102. E. Groag, *RE* XIII 283ff. This opinion is viewed with favour in *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 308f.

103. Bayet, o.c. XVIIIf.

104. I 10.6f.

105. Bayet, o.c. XVIII. The lower date depends on his assumption that Crassus' claim and its rebuttal occurred in 29 B.C.

106. IV 20.7.

107. IV 23.3. For Macer and the *libri linteui* see R. M. Ogilvie, *JRS* XLVIII (1958), 40ff.

108. I 10.7.

109. IV 3f.

110. V 51ff.

111. *Divus Julius* 79.4: *migraturum Alexandream vel Ilium.*

112. E.g., E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus*<sup>3</sup> (1922), 521: "zweifellos durchaus zutreffend."

113. Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 305f.

114. F. Münzer, *RE* VII 324ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *Kl. Schriften* (1913), 273ff.; E. Täubler, *Klio* XII (1912), 219ff.; A. Momigliano, *CQ* XXXVI (1942), 111ff.; J. Bayet in his edition of Book V (Budé, 1954, 155).

115. Cf. F. Klingner, *Gnomon* XI (1935), 577ff., reviewing E. Burck, *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius* (1934). Klingner even points to Valerius Antias as perhaps "der Camillus-Historiker" (o.c. 587).

116. Above, p. 55.

117. Bayet, o.c. XIX: "si bien que les passages ampoulés où Caesar Augustus est loué finissent par faire figure de palinodie, ou, au moins, de palliatif."

118. I 10.7.

119. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I 70f. On which observe the valuable observations of E. Norden, *Neue Jahrbücher* VII (1901), 259; 279ff.

120. I 3.2.

121. *Aen.* I 267ff.

122. *Aen.* VI 763ff.

123. IV 29.7.

124. IV 26.

125. IV 56f.

126. XXIX 37.

127. VII 25.9: *adeo in quae laboramus sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque;* 40.2: *nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem;* IX 19.15: *absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant.*

128. Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 335f., where *Praef.* 9 is cited.

129. XXVIII 12.12.

130. E.g., A. Klotz, *RE* XIII 818; Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 300.

131. Velleius II 90.4. He is refuted by Dio in 24, 22, and 19 B.C. (LIII 29.1ff.; LIV 5.1ff.; 11.2ff.).

132. For the Spanish wars see further above, p. 65.

133. Donatus, *Vita* 27.

134. Above, p. 40ff.

135. M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (1947), 77.

136. K. Witte, *Rh. Mus.* LXV (1910), 419; H. Dessau, *Gesch. der r. Kaiserzeit* I (1926), 540: "ohne ernstliche Vorstudien".

137. The affirmation of A. Rosenberg that he obviously did not belong to the "Adelsgeschlechter" of Padua (o.c. 144) is not supported by evidence or argument. His presumed gravestone, *T. Livius C. f. sibi et suis*, etc., with two sons and a wife, *Cassia Sex. f. Prima* (ILS 2919), registers no local magistracy. Laistner (o.c. 67) betrays strange misconceptions about citizenship and nomenclature.

138. There is the inscription *IG III 594=II<sup>2</sup> 4141*: ή βουλη/Λιβιον (near the Propylaea). It is adduced by P. Graudor, *Musée belge XXVIII* (1923), 135; *Athènes sous Auguste* (1927), 96.

139. It is perhaps a little hopeful to say that "his work reflects knowledge of the Empire, presumably gathered in travel" (A. H. McDonald, *OCD* (1949), 509).

140. Seneca, *Controv. X praef.* 2.

141. Quintilian X 1.39. For other writings of Livy, see Seneca, *Epp.* 100.9.

142. The subject is too large to be dealt with in this place. For an acute appraisal of Livy in relation to his predecessors see A. H. McDonald, *JRS* XLVII (1957), 155ff.

143. *De legibus* I 2.

144. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstsprosa* I (1898), 270ff.

145. Seneca, *Controv. X praef.* 5: *color orationis antiquae, vigor novae*.

146. *Ib.* I *praef.* 12.

147. Quintilian X 1.39.

148. *Ib.* X 1.113, cf. Tacitus, *Dial.* 18.2.

149. Catullus 12; Charisius, *GL* 124K.

150. As can be argued from *Ecl.* VIII 11: *a te principium, tibi desinet*. This looks like the original dedication — before the poet was impelled to praise the heir of Caesar (*Ecl.* I). Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 253.

151. According to Pliny, *divi Augusti principatu obiit* (*NH* IX 137; X 60). But he has failed to achieve *PIR*.

152. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 41.1.

153. Seneca, *Controv. IX* 1.14; 2.26; Quintilian II 5.20; VIII 2.18; X 1.39.

154. That has been argued by V. Lundström, *Eranos* XXVII (1929), 1ff. Against, Bayet, o.c. VIII.

155. *De oratore* II 54, cf. *Orator* 66.

156. S. G. Stacey, *Archiv für lat. Lex.* X (1898), 17ff. For criticism which corrects but does not invalidate Stacey's view see K. Gries, *Constancy in Livy's Latinity* (Diss. Columbia, 1949).

157. Cf. Bayet, o.c. LXIV.

158. Orators who aped Thucydides moved Cicero to righteous anger (*Orator* 32).

159. E. Norden, o.c. 256ff.

160. Seneca, *Controv. IX* 2.6.

161. *Ib.* IX 1.14. The original was in fact a Demosthenic phrase.

162. Martial XI 16; Pliny, *Epp.* I 14.6.

163. Cicero, *Phil.* XII 10.

164. Macrobius I 11.22.

165. E. Norden, o.c. 234ff.

166. Suetonius, *De gramm.* 10.4.

167. *Odes* II 1.1.

168. *Praef.* 2: *dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allatueros se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.*

169. Contrast and even aversion is deduced from the *Praefatio* by L. Amundsen, *Symb. Osl.* XXV (1947), 31.

170. Seneca, *Suas.* VI 27.

171. For the meaning of *Patavinitas*, above, p. 76.

172. Seneca, *Epp.* 114.17.

173. At least, Varro dedicated the *Antiquitates* to him (Augustine, *Civ. dei* VII 35). But too much is made of the monarchic motive in Caesar's policy by J. Carcopino, *Histoire romaine* II (1936), 996ff.

174. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Mus. Helv.* VIII (1951), 190ff.

175. IV 3.17 (the speech of Canuleius): *optimis regum, novis hominibus.* For later exploitation of the plebeian King, Servius Tullius, by the *novus homo* Sejanus, cf. *Hermes* LXXXIV (1956), 257ff.

176. Cf. J. Gagé, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* XLVII (1930), 138ff.

177. Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 95.

178. Dio XLVIII 43.4.

179. Florus II 34.66.

180. Ennius, quoted by Varro, *Res rusticae* III 1.2.

181. I 16.4.

182. Above, p. 48.

183. V 49.7.

184. *Res Gestae* 10, cf. Dio LI 20.1.

185. *Res Gestae* 20.

186. Above, p. 45.

187. Dio L 4.5.

188. Dio LI 20.4. Last recorded in 63 B.C. (XXXVII 24.2).

189. It is not perhaps important that he should ignore that scholar's view of the *spolia opima* — *M. Varro ait opima spolia esse, etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit, dummodo duci hostium* (Festus p. 204L). But it appears that he was unaware of the cycle of 110 years for the *Ludi Saeculares*, cf. the evidence of Censorinus, who cites *commentarii* and Horace's hymn against Livy (*De die natali* 17.9).

190. I 25.6ff.

191. I 24.4ff.

192. The *Arvales* are not in Dionysius either. Hence a clue to the value of the sources they employ.

193. His account of Numa does not therefore reflect even partially "die Reformbestrebungen des Augustus", as G. Stübler claims (*Die Religiosität des Livius* (1941), 34).

194. *Praef.* 4: *festinantibus ad haec nova quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt.*

195. The concept of "Augustan" requires careful definition and restrained

handling. Cf. above, p. 28, and *JRS* XXXV (1945), 404. Also A. Momigliano, *ib.* 124ff. and A. H. McDonald in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (ed. M. Platnauer, 1954), 397, referring to "the higher interpretation of his Augustan sentiment."

196. A. Rostagni, *Scritti minori* II 2 (1956), 201ff.
197. XXXI 1.5: *iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi, et crescere paene opus quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui videbatur.*
198. *Odes* II 1.6.
199. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 34.3.
200. Macrobius II 4.18 (in answer to Strabo, i.e., Seius Strabo).
201. Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 317f.; *Tacitus* (1958), 432ff.
202. Seneca, *NQ* V 18.4.
203. *Aen.* VI 826ff.
204. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 41.1.
205. Seneca, *De clem.* I 10.1.
206. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 34.4.
207. Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 373; 419ff.
208. See the detailed study of F. Blumenthal, *Wiener Studien* XXXV (1913), 113ff.; XXXVI (1914), 84ff. For the fragments, E. Malcovati, *Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta*<sup>3</sup> (1948), 84ff.
209. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* I 9.
210. *Aen.* VIII 688.
211. Brutus to Atticus (*Ad M. Brutum* 25.5 = I 17.5, cf. Plutarch, *Cicero* 45).
212. Plutarch, *Cicero* 49.
213. Quoted by Seneca, *Suas.* VI 22: *omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem, quae vere aestimanti minus indigna videri potuit quod a victore inimico nihil crudelius passurus erat quam quod eiusdem fortunae compos victo fecisset.*
214. Plutarch, *Brutus* 2; 13; 23; 48.
215. O. Hirschfeld, *Kl. Schriften* (1913), 781ff.
216. For the propaganda war, K. Scott, *Mem. Am. Ac. Rome* XI (1933), 7ff.; M. P. Charlesworth, *CQ* XXVII (1933), 172ff.
217. That was not properly cleared up before the studies of Schwartz and Sternkopf, *Hermes* XXXIII (1898), 185ff.; XLVII (1912), 321ff.
218. *Ad Att.* XVI 7.1; *Phil.* I 8. Cf. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 117f.
219. Gelzer (*RE* X 1000) suggests that Brutus did not move until he learned of that session. Probably too late.
220. Lucan VII 441.
221. Pliny, *NH* II 147; *Obsequens* 65 (50 B.C.).
222. XLIII 13.1.
223. *Obsequens* 70 (17 B.C.).
224. Notably in the winter of 23–22 B.C. (Dio LIII 33.5).
225. For Tacitus' practice, cf. *AJP* LXXIX (1958), 18ff.
226. Dio LIII 19.
227. Above, p. 71.
228. *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, A 1129; C 1167.
229. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 261ff.
230. Justin XLII 5.11f.

231. R. Helm, *RE* XXI 2301.

232. Justin XXXVIII 3.11.

233. Seneca, *Controv.* X, *praef.* 4ff.

234. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 34.1.

235. Seneca, *Ad Marciam* 26.1: *proscribentes in aeternum ipse proscriptis.*

236. Suetonius, *Tib.* 61.3; Dio LVII 24.3.

237. Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 35.2.

238. Kornemann argued that he was the main source of Appian's *Bella civilia* (*Klio* XVII (1921), 33ff.). Against, W. Ensslin, *Klio* XX (1926), 463ff.

239. E. Meyer, *Kl. Schriften* I (1910), 421.

240. The terminal date of 27 B.C., assumed by Honigmann (*RE* IV A 90) and others, can hardly be correct.

241. Jacoby, *F Gr H* II C 229.

242. For a discussion, strongly negative, see R. Laqueur, *RE* VI A 1063ff.

243. Seneca, *Epp.* 91.13.

244. IX 18.6. For Timagenes, R. Laqueur, *RE* VI A 1063ff.; P. Treves, *Il mito di Alessandro e la Roma d'Augusto* (1953), 39ff.

245. Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 85.1: *Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra.*

246. Appian, *Ill.* 15.

247. As is clear from the accounts in Orosius V 21.1-5; Florus II 33.

248. Failure to allow for the second army impairs the value of D. Magie's study (*CP* XV (1920), 323ff.). Cf. observations in *AJP* LV (1934), 293ff. Schulten's elaborate work is very useful (*Los Cantabros y Astures y su Guerra con Roma*, 1943), but contains errors, e.g. his notion that Lucus (Lugo, in Asturia) was in Roman hands before the war (o.c. 177).

249. Cf. *AJP* LV (1934), 305ff.

250. Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 36.

251. Dio LV 25.1.

252. Pliny, *NH* V 35f.

253. *NH* V 94.

254. Tacitus, *Ann.* III 48.1; Strabo XII, p. 569.

255. Though Cn. Piso (*cos.* 7 B.C.), a former proconsul, told him something about African geography (II, p. 130).

256. Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 32.1.

257. Dio LIII 25.3ff.; LIV 20.1ff.

258. These two factors must always be allowed for when there is obscurity or dispute about the dates of certain military operations. Cf. *JRS* XXIII (1933), 120ff.; *CQ* XXVII (1933), 146; *Klio* XXVII (1934), 138.

259. Some of the information had been supplied previously, in the digression on Germany (*Per. CIV*); perhaps also in the account of Octavianus' campaigns in Illyricum in 35 and 34 B.C. (CXXXI and CXXXII). Fresh knowledge had accrued.

260. Cf. *AJP* LV (1934), 314.

261. Velleius II 90.4.

262. *Odes* IV 4 and 14.

263. Dio LIV 20.1.

264. Velleius II 97.1.

265. Dio LIV 20.4ff. (under 16 B.C.). Obsequens 71 has 17 B.C., presumably the true date.

266. Velleius II 96.3; Florus II 24.8; Dio LIV 24.3 (without any general's name).

267. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 435.

268. Dio LIV 3.

269. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 427.

270. Velleius II 104.2.

271. *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 424f.; 450.

272. Velleius II 100–104.

273. Velleius II 116.5: *neque enim iustus sine mendacio candor apud bonos criminis est.*

274. Quintilian II 5.19: *candidissimus*; XI 101: *mira*e* iucunditatis clarissimique candoris.*

275. H. Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der 4. und 5. Dekade des Livius* (1863), 29ff. On "Livy as Scripture" cf. M. Hadas, *AJP* LXI (1940), 445ff.; on improving distortions, P. G. Walsh, *AJP* LXXVI (1955), 369ff.

276. Observe especially the emotional and adulatory expressions of Valerius Maximus, V 5.3: *eodemque tempore et fraternae maiestati cessit et vita excessit. his scio equidem nullum aliud quam Castoris et Pollucis specimen consanguineae caritatis convenienter adici posse.*

277. Dio LV 6.6. Not in the *Res Gestae*.

278. *Res Gestae* 16.

279. Dio LIV 36.2.

280. Orosius' date of 2 b.c. is explicitly, and naturally, that of the Nativity (VI 22.1, cf. I 1.6; VII 2.16). Mommsen argued plausibly for a date between 8 and 1 b.c. (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti* [1883], 50). A third closing of Janus in 13 b.c. has been proposed by I. S. Ryberg, *Mem. Am. Ac. Rome* XIX (1949), 92f. It is attractive at first sight, but not easy to accept.

281. Schanz-Hosius, o.c. 300, assumes an interpolation. O. Rossbach defends the passage in his edition (Teubner, 1910), XV. He appeals to the phrase with which the derivative *Liber prodigiorum* terminates — *multitudo Romanorum per insidias subiecta est*. That is, a reference to the *clades Variana*.

282. Velleius II 117.2.

283. Above, p. 38.

284. Cf. Pliny, *NH* VII 149: *iuncta deinde tot mala*, etc.

285. Seneca, *Controv.* X, *praef.* 5.

286. Above, p. 39.

287. Above, p. 41.

288. Above, p. 41.

289. Orosius VI 21.1–21.

290. *Ib.* 22–29.

291. Florus II 22–34.

292. Of wars subsequent to 9 b.c., Orosius mentions the *Bellum Gaetulicum* of Cossus Lentulus, Tiberius' operations in Germany and Illyricum (taken from Suetonius and Eutropius, erroneously conflated) and the disaster of Varus. Florus has Cossus Lentulus, the Varian disaster, C. Caesar in Armenia, also Vibius in Dalmatia (II 23, presumably C. Vibius Postumus operating in A.D. 9). Further, of uncertain date, Sulpicius Quirinius against the Marmaridae (? c. 14 b.c.), Lentulus (the Augur) against Dacians and Sarmatians (which might be in 9 b.c.).

293. E. Schwartz, *RE* III 1698. At what point did Dio desert Livy? M. A. Levi

suggests a new source in 27 B.C., at LIII 17 (*Il Tempo di Augusto* [1951], 426; 433). The beginning of Book LII, however, in 29 B.C., looks attractive.

294. *Per. CXXXIV*. But they also occur in *Per. CXXXV*, followed by Augustus' war in Spain and the conquest of the Salassi.

295. Above, p. 44ff.

296. Dio LIV 13.1–19.4.

297. Cf. G. E. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (1941), 208ff.

298. IV 4.4.

299. *ILS* 212 (Lugdunum); Tacitus, *Ann. XI* 24. Cf. A. Momigliano, *Claudius. The Emperor and his Achievement* (1934), 17f.

300. *Ann. I* 9.4f.

301. Dio LVI 43f., on which cf. *Tacitus* (1958), 272f.

302. Cf. Florus II 14.5f. (possibly deriving from Livy): *perculsum undique ac perturbatum ordinavit imperii corpus, quod haud dubie numquam coire et consentire potuisset nisi unius praesidis nutu quasi anima et mente regeretur.*

303. Censorinus. *De die natali* 17.9 = fr. 56 Weissenborn.

304. Quintilian X 1.102; Tacitus, *Dial.* 23.4.

305. E.g. F. A. Marx, *Klio* XXVI (1933), 323ff.; XXIX (1936), 202ff. For this historian see now *Tacitus* (1958), 274ff.; 697ff. A proper investigation into Dio's treatment of the reign of Augustus is sorely needed.

306. R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*<sup>3</sup> (1914), 475f.

307. Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator* (1890), 449f.

308. Quintilian I 5.56: *taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque: nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quemadmodum Pollio reprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem, licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam.* The other passage (VIII 1.12) adds nothing.

309. K. Latte, *CP* XXXV (1940), 56; A. H. McDonald, *JRS* XLVII (1957), 172.

310. As suggested in *Rom. Rev.* (1939), 485f.

311. Suetonius, *Cal.* 34.6.

312. Quintilian X 1.32: *neque illa Livii lactea ubertas satis docebit eum qui non speciem expositionis sed fidem quaerit.*

313. II 5.19: *ego optimos quidem et statim et semper, sed tamen eorum candidissimum quemque et maxime expositum velim, ut Livium a pueris magis quam Sallustium; et hic historiae maior est auctor.*

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## PLATO'S *PARMENIDES*

BY WALTER GARRISON RUNCIMAN

MY purpose in adding to the already considerable literature<sup>1</sup> on the *Parmenides* is as follows: I think it can now be satisfactorily established that the dialogue contains no fundamental modification of the theory of forms, but that it nevertheless represents serious expression of Plato's own comments on the theory. Further, I wish to suggest that the second part contains no explicit exposition of doctrinal or metaphysical teaching, but that its moral is to be deduced from the fact that its contradictions are possible at all; that this moral is both more than the need for dialectical gymnastics and less than the abandonment of the theory of forms; that it can be drawn from the consideration of the second part in its relation to the first; and that the dialogue can accordingly be seen as a coherent and serious whole.

### I

The dialogue purports to be a reported conversation between Zeno, Parmenides, and the young Socrates. Zeno has been reading a treatise in which he argues that a denial of monism entails that the same subject must undergo opposite predicates. Socrates, however, suggests that on the basis of the theory of forms no paradox arises, since one particular can exemplify several different forms. He would only be surprised if it could be shown that the forms themselves undergo opposite predicates. Parmenides then proceeds to an examination of the theory of forms which occupies the first part of the dialogue. This part (130b to 135c) may be briefly summarized as follows:

Parmenides first enquires what classes of terms Socrates admits to the category of forms, and encourages him not to be hesitant about those of whose status he is doubtful. He then examines the nature of participation between forms and particulars. Socrates suggests three explanations in turn, each of which is refuted by Parmenides. Parmenides concludes his examination by an argument designed to show that if the forms exist they must be unknowable. But he then tacitly admits that the forms must in fact exist.

Before examining each argument separately, we must consider the

part assigned in the dialogue to Parmenides. Certain commentators, feeling that Plato cannot have had a greater respect for Parmenides than for Socrates, have held that he would not put into the mouth of Parmenides criticisms of the theory of forms which he (Plato) could not in fact refute. It has further been suggested that Plato intended the dialogue to be an implicit refutation of views which the historical Parmenides might be supposed to have held.<sup>2</sup> However, it is, I think, considerably more plausible to suggest that Plato uses the young Socrates to express views that he either previously held or was still holding at the time of writing, and that he uses Parmenides to present serious comment upon these views. This interpretation may be strongly supported on the following grounds:

The dramatic date of the dialogue presents Parmenides as aged about sixty-five and Socrates as perhaps twenty. It is unlikely that the historical Socrates ever held the views he expresses in the dialogue, and certain that he did not hold them at the age of twenty. Thus there is no initial reason for supposing that Parmenides will argue from the standpoint which he historically held. Indeed, unless the purpose of the dialogue is an anti-Eleatic polemic, we have no cause to suppose it at all. But if Plato's purpose is to discuss certain problems arising out of his theory of ideas, there is no intrinsic improbability in his putting his comments into the mouth of a thinker for whom he is known to have had a very great respect. Further, the historical Parmenides would certainly not have expressed the acceptance of the theory of forms which we find at 135a-d. He does not argue as a monist; and I shall later hope to show that we may reject the suggestion that in the second part of the dialogue it is Parmenidean monism which is under discussion.

There is an additional difficulty which faces those interpreters who hold that Plato expects his readers to detect the fallacies in Parmenides' refutations of Socrates' suggestions as to the relation between forms and particulars. Socrates suggests first participation ( $\muέθεξις$ ), then conceptualization ( $\nuόημα \acute{e}γγιγνόμενον \acute{e}ν ψυχαῖς$ ), then resemblance ( $\epsilonἰκασθῆναι$ ). If we consider all of Parmenides' arguments false, are we to conclude that all three different suggestions are sound? We must presumably assume that the refutations are based on a misinterpretation: that is to say, that Parmenides is attacking views which Plato never held in the form in which they are stated. But if this is so, it must be admitted that Plato never does state in what form he really did hold them. For if any one of Socrates' three alternatives is in fact the view that Plato held to be correct, then Parmenides must be wrong in this instance and right in the others; but in fact Plato represents

Socrates as driven equally to abandon each argument in turn. The interpreters who find Parmenides' arguments invalid seem to do so on the grounds that he is guilty of wilful misconception or deliberate sophistry; thus in the first argument he "illegitimately" holds Socrates to a rigidly literal interpretation of participation. But this, surely, is precisely the point of the argument. It is designed to show that the relation between forms and particulars is not one of literal participation; and this it effectively does.

That Plato cannot, however, have thought Parmenides' arguments fatal to the theory of ideas is demonstrated by his retention of the theory after the writing of the dialogue. That he did retain it seems to me to be beyond question; and to deny this involves rejecting not only evidence in the dialogues themselves, but also the evidence of Aristotle and of all subsequent tradition. But since certain commentators, including Burnet and Ryle, have sought to minimize or ignore this evidence, I feel that some reference to it is necessary. It is of course true that Plato often uses language which does not make it certain that he thinks of the concepts he is discussing as forms. But the following passages from dialogues generally agreed to be written after the *Parmenides* are to me adequate proof that Plato continued to hold to his belief in the forms: *Tim.* 51b–52c, *Phil.* 15a–b, 16c–e, 58c–59d, 62a, *Theaet.* 185d, *Pol.* 284e–286a, *Soph.* 249c–d, 253c–254a, *Phaedr.* 277a, *Laws* 965b–e. I do not cite the evidence of the *Seventh Letter* since its authenticity is not beyond question; but even if spurious it is evidence of a kind for Plato's beliefs, and it is unequivocal in the belief expressed in the existence of forms. Further, the burden of proof must rest on those who maintain that Plato ceased to regard as forms concepts or objects to which he had previously assigned this rank. I do not think satisfactory proof has been offered. The view that Plato was led by the arguments of the *Parmenides* to modify or abandon the theory of forms is made more plausible if we accept the attempt of G. E. L. Owen, "The Place of the *Timaeus* in Plato's Dialogues," *C.Q.* N.S. III (1953) 79ff., to date the *Timaeus* prior to the *Parmenides*. But the *Philebus* reflects no such modification as is implied by Professor Ryle (whose view I shall discuss more fully later); and most of Owen's arguments have been very strongly disputed by Professor Cherniss, "The Relation of the *Timaeus* to Plato's Later Dialogues," *A.J.P.* LXXVIII (1957) 225ff.; cf. also "Timaeus 38a8–b5," *J.H.S.* LXXVII (1957) (1) 247–251.

Thus Plato may well have thought Parmenides' arguments not invalid but irrelevant since he believed that the language used to describe the relation between forms and particulars is merely a metaphorical

description for some other true and indefinable or as yet undefined relation. But it is a mistake to argue from this, as has been done, that Parmenides' arguments are thereby rendered unsound. In fact, they are more damaging than we can suppose Plato ever to have realized. For we may ask, as Plato and some of his commentators do not, what is the literal relation of which Parmenides criticizes the metaphorical expression? Now there is in fact no answer to this question, either in Plato or anywhere else.<sup>3</sup> The relation may be regarded as metaphorical to the extent that the statements "this partakes of greenness" or "greenness inheres in this" are synonymous with the statement "this is green." But for Plato both forms of statement express a relation between the preexistent entity greenness (for colour as a form cf. *Ep.* VII. 342d) and the particular concerned. This relation is never adequately defined by Plato. He uses participation in a perfectly legitimate sense in the *Gorgias* at 466a where it is said that rhetoric is a part of flattery.<sup>4</sup> This metaphorical statement we can satisfactorily translate by saying that flatterers employ rhetoric or that rhetoric is a species of flattery. But no such translation may be rendered for the participation in forms of particulars. However, since Plato continued to believe in the existence of the forms, he must have believed that we must not reject them on the grounds that the relation between forms and particulars is not susceptible of precise analysis. Such a relation must in fact exist no matter how difficult it may seem to be to explain.

Finally, if we conclude even one of the arguments to be in fact sound, this must tell strongly against the view that Parmenides is the proponent of a string of fallacious sophisms for which, on this view, it is difficult to find any worthwhile purpose. It may of course always be true that an argument which is in fact sound was not seen by Plato to be so. But if he means to expose the inadequacy of a certain type of criticism of the theory of forms, and if some of this criticism is in fact sound as he himself expresses it, it seems not unreasonable to doubt whether such exposure was really his intention. But, as I have said, this does not mean that he thought the criticism though valid to be conclusively damaging. In fact, I think it is now generally accepted that Parmenides' final argument is unsound (I shall examine its purpose later), but that those arguments which deal with the relation of forms to particulars constitute effective criticism of the proffered explanations of this relation. Accordingly I shall now proceed to consider in turn each of the arguments of the first part of the dialogue.

On being questioned by Parmenides, Socrates expresses certainty of the existence of forms of likeness, unity, plurality, justice, beauty,

goodness, and "all such things" (130b). However he admits that he is puzzled about forms of man, fire, or water, and unwilling to accept hair, mud, or dirt. Parmenides tells him that this hesitation is due to his youth and his deference to general opinion, but that when he becomes more truly philosophically inclined he will be ready to accept all these things as forms.

This argument presents no problems. It was ethical and aesthetic qualities which were the starting point of the theory of ideas, and such ideas as unity and similarity had come into prominence in the *Phaedo* and the *Republic*. However in the earlier dialogues (*Rep.* 596a, cf. *Phaedo* 75c-d, *Crat.* 386d-e) it had been explicitly stated that the positing of a form is entailed by the application of a common name. The question thus arises whether this axiom is to be exhaustively applied; and we need only consider why in fact Plato should hesitate at all. An answer seems discernible in the language of the early dialogues. Not only were the early ideas considered to be the projection of such concepts as beauty or equality, but Plato appears to have thought of the particulars as in some sense aspiring to attain their perfection. With the moral ideas this seems reasonable enough; we may for instance think of Socrates as aspiring to the perfect form of justice. In the *Phaedo* such language is used of equality which individual particulars are said to desire or to fall short of (e.g. *ōp̄ȳetai* 75b). Likewise it is not absurd to think of the craftsman as aspiring to create a bed or a shuttle which should be as good as possible a representation of the ideal form. But when this notion is extended to hair and dirt, the danger of absurdity becomes obvious. Are we to say that all things which are dirty aspire to the perfection of dirtiness? or that all hairs aspire to the perfection of hairiness? Plato seems here to be expressing his awareness of this difficulty. But Parmenides' concluding remark suggests that the difficulty does not damage the theory, and that the young Socrates will come to accept the existence of an idea answering to every common name. We may note that Plato seems to have believed in a natural subdivision of classes, that is to say, a belief that forms exist in accordance with a preordained division of genera into species (cf. *Phaedr.* 255e, *Pol.* 262b); and that the fullest list of forms is found in the *Seventh Letter* (342d), written (if, as is now widely thought, it is genuine) in the last decade of Plato's life. Moreover, Plato seems in the *Theaetetus* and to a greater extent in the *Philebus* to have come to concede an increasing respectability to the world of empirical phenomena; although, as I have mentioned, I do not think there is any evidence for holding that he abandoned his belief in transcendental ideas.

Parmenides now turns to his examination of the relation between forms and particulars. I shall summarize and comment separately on each of the three arguments.

(1)  $\muέθεξις$ . Socrates suggests that the relationship is one of participation. Parmenides then argues that participation entails that each form must be divided into parts and shared among the particulars. Thus largeness will be divided into fragments smaller than largeness itself, equality will be divided into fragments unequal to itself, and smallness itself will be larger than the fragments by which particulars become smaller. Further, if Socrates has been led to postulate largeness by observing it as the common characteristic of large things, it will presumably share with them this characteristic of largeness. From this, an infinite regress is at once engendered.

*Comment.* This argument is clearly a valid refutation of a literal participation theory. It could only be answered by giving some other meaning to  $\muέθεξις$ , which is never given; and as I suggested above, no satisfactory meaning could in fact be advanced within the premises of the theory of forms. It is accordingly established that the relation between forms and particulars is not one of participation in any literally analysable sense. Socrates first offered the analogy of the daylight, which is in many places at once. Parmenides rejects this in favour of the analogy of a sailcloth. He never gives any explicit grounds for his rejection, which Socrates accepts. But it is worth remarking why the daylight analogy could not in fact avoid Parmenides' objections. To say that different places all share in the daylight is only to say that many places are illumined by the daylight at the same time. In the same way, to say that many objects at the same time partake of largeness is only to say that there are many objects which are all large. In other words, the relation is not one of participation in its literal sense as in the case of a sailcloth (or a cake or a sum of money), which is all that (for the moment) Parmenides has set out to prove.

The infinite regress (or "third man") argument deserves separate comment. Analysis of this argument has been much clarified by the comments of Vlastos and his critics. I do not propose to enter the controversy concerning the formal analysis of the argument itself. I agree with Professor Vlastos that it is best read as the expression of "honest perplexity." But whether or not it is refutable by replacing the "self-predication" and "non-identity" assumptions by the "separation assumption in its explicit form," the important fact is that Plato failed to realize that any instance of an attribute must, even if it is

a form, have the logical status of a particular. The "third man" argument exposes an error which, though Plato did not realize it, is fundamentally damaging to the theory of forms. Professor Ryle accordingly concludes that Plato had come to realize the logical illegitimacy of self-predication.<sup>5</sup> But had he been fully aware of it he would have seen (which he never did) that the theory fails because it merely recreates on a different level the problems which it was designed to solve. In fact, although Parmenides later shows that a resemblance theory apparently entails an equally damaging regress, Plato continues to use the language of resemblance in the *Timaeus*, e.g. at 29b, 48c, 49a, 50d — cf. also *Pol.* 285d–286a echoing *Phaedr.* 250b — and at *Philebus* 16d he speaks of the form as being present in (*εὑρίσκειν γὰρ ἐνοῦσαν*) the particular. Further, at *Soph.* 258b–c we find the phrase *ῶσπερ τὸ μέγα ήν μέγα*; and that it is the form of *τὸ μέγα* which is referred to is shown by the phrase *τὸ μέγα αὐτό* used at 258a. The evidence of relevant ancient literature not only does not reflect any abandonment by Plato of paradeigmatism but offers positive evidence to the contrary; for references see Cherniss, *A.J.P.* LXXVIII (1957) 249–50. We must accordingly conclude that Plato found the present passage damaging only to a theory of strictly literal participation, and that he continued to believe in some other indefinable (or at least undefined) relation between particulars and forms. However, that he was aware that problems arise from the consideration of the relations between the forms themselves is shown by Socrates' remarks at 129d–e. Some of these problems he examined in the *Sophist*; and they are relevant, as we shall see, to the second part of the *Parmenides*.

(2) *νόημα ἐγγιγνόμενον ἐν ψυχαῖς*. Socrates now attempts to avoid these objections by suggesting that the forms are thoughts existing in the mind. Parmenides objects that the thought must be a thought of something, namely a form. Thus the problem of relationship has not been solved; further, on the participation theory particulars will have shares in a thought, and will therefore either be pieces of thinking or thoughts without thought.

*Comment.* It is certainly a part of Platonic doctrine that the forms are objects of thought, since it is by thought that they are apprehended and known. But Parmenides' argument effectively shows that to describe them as such does not solve the problem of their relationship to particulars. However, it has been argued that Parmenides' argument is illegitimate because it is the minds that are thinking about the forms which provide the necessary link.<sup>6</sup> But this would entail a kind of

Berkeleyan position which Plato certainly never held. Are we to believe that although, for example, greenness and treeness always exist, green trees only exist when they are being thought about? Unless this is so, the problem remains, and Parmenides can again bring up his argument against the literal participation theory. Socrates accordingly abandons his conceptualist theory as an explanation and offers a resemblance theory in its place.

(3) *εἰκασθῆναι (παραδείγματα)*. Socrates suggests that the forms are fixed in nature and the particulars made in their likeness, so that participation is in fact nothing more than resemblance. Parmenides answers that if two things resemble each other they must both possess at least one common attribute. Thus if a form and a particular are similar, both must be instances of at least one other form; and hence there at once arises an infinite regress.

*Comment.* This argument, as Vlastos shows (*P.R.* LXIII [1954] 324–332), involves the two inconsistent assumptions that F-ness is F and that anything which is F cannot be identical with F-ness. But it thereby serves to demonstrate, for reasons more damaging than we can suppose Plato to have realized, that the relation between forms and particulars is not one of resemblance. To posit the resemblance theory entails the belief that forms can legitimately undergo the same predicates as particulars; and this is the central mistake exposed, as we saw, by the first version of the “third man” argument. It is a mistake which would seem most naturally to arise out of the confusion of forms with ideal particulars which is implicit in the discussion of geometry at *Euthyd.* 290b or of the bed of *Rep.* 597aff. But Plato, as we have seen, continued to use the language of resemblance. We must accordingly conclude that he saw that resemblance could not give a complete and satisfactory account of the relation between forms and particulars; but he did not see that the consideration which renders resemblance unsatisfactory is a criticism damaging to the whole theory of forms.

Certain commentators have tried to circumvent the argument on the grounds that the relation is an “asymmetrical” resemblance as between pattern and copy.<sup>7</sup> But this cannot alter the fact that if there is any resemblance at all it must be a mutual relation; and for the copy to be a copy it must resemble the pattern in some respect, e.g., in colour or shape. Asymmetrical resemblance is a contradiction in terms. If *p* resembles *q* in any respect, this logically entails that *q* will in this same respect resemble *p*. The common attribute thus designated will on the assumptions of the Platonic theory be a form. Thus, if the relation

between forms and particulars is one of resemblance an apparent regress can at once be engendered.

It is accordingly distressing to find that Professor Cherniss (*A.J.P.* LXXVIII [1957] 252–63) still retains his conviction that Parmenides' arguments are invalid and were seen by Plato to be so. He does not repeat his truly astonishing statement (*Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy* I 298) that "even before Plato wrote the *Parmenides* he must have believed that the 'likeness' of particular to idea does not imply that the idea and the particular are 'alike.'" But he still argues that the *παραδειγματα* argument is invalid because particulars are likenesses of ideas (originals) and it does not follow from this that both are likenesses of another single original. He further thinks (p. 263) that if the argument were valid, "it would be a general proof that nothing can be a likeness or image of anything whatever." The fact is, however, that the possibility of resemblance between particular and idea entails the existence of a common characteristic; and to predicate this characteristic of a form is to reduce it to the logical status of a particular. If whiteness is white (which must follow if white objects are white by resembling it) then whiteness is one of the class of white objects. Any two similar objects need only be likenesses of another original if the existence of a common characteristic is taken to entail the hypostatizing of an entity or form by resemblance to (or participation in) which they come to have this characteristic: but this of course is the mistaken supposition which gave rise to the theory of forms. It is only true to say that the regress argument against paradeigmatism is not valid in the sense that the regress is illegitimate before it starts, since it accepts the paradeigmatic assumption that attributes predicable of a particular can (and indeed must) be predicated also of a form. Professor Cherniss argues that the relation of a copy to its original need not presuppose a common resemblance to a further original. Of course it need not, unless we accept the assumption of the theory of forms that common characteristics (which a copy must share with its original to be a copy) are joint resemblances to the same forms. But since this is precisely the *παραδειγματα* theory which is under discussion, the criticism of Parmenides does expose its inadequacy as an explanation of the relation between forms and particulars.

Parmenides now passes to his concluding argument, which may be summarized as follows: The forms exist separately from the sensible world. They will be correlates of each other, not of particulars, and particulars will be correlates of each other, not of forms. Thus mastership

is relative to slavery, and master relative to slave. Likewise Knowledge in the world of forms is a correlate of the form Truth, whereas phenomenal knowledge can only be relative to the particulars of our world. Therefore we cannot have knowledge of the forms. Further, if divine knowledge is true knowledge, it cannot be knowledge of our world.

It may in some sense be true that there can be no relation between correlates of different orders or categories. But Parmenides' argument as it stands is invalid, and he himself indicates as much by tacitly accepting the theory of forms while putting his emphasis on the difficulties of converting the objector (133b, 135e). His two examples are in any case insufficient to establish his contention. It is of course true that mastership is not master of a slave in the way in which a particular master is, nor in the way in which Parmenides wrongly suggests that it is of slavery. But this does not establish that there cannot be any connection between a master and mastership. This conclusion would require a far fuller enquiry into the possible varieties both of correlates and of relations. Similarly Parmenides does not establish that there cannot be any relation between the form of knowledge and our particular acts of knowing, and it is illegitimate to assert that knowledge can know anything (134b). Further, if, as Parmenides suggests, the forms are in God's world, God must according to the preceding argument be himself a form since there can be no relation between the forms and any other category of existence.

What, then, is the purpose of this final argument? Socrates has been shown unable to give a satisfactory description of the relation between forms and particulars. Parmenides has then adduced a separate argument designed to show that any such relation is impossible. Now it is clear that Plato cannot have thought this final argument valid since it would inevitably destroy the whole theory of forms. In fact, we have seen that one of the reasons which make it invalid is that in order to prove his contention Parmenides would have to exhaust all possible varieties of relation. Thus the first part of the dialogue seems effectively to focus Plato's attitude to the problem at the time of writing. He realized that it was apparently impossible to give a complete or satisfactory analysis of the relation between forms and particulars, and this difficulty will appear to lend plausibility to the argument that there can be no relation because the two are entities of a separate category. But this will only be so if all possible relations are shown to be invalid; and in fact, since our minds are capable of apprehending forms as well as sensory particulars, it follows that some relation must exist. Therefore,

although this relation is not susceptible of literal description, its in-describability should not be allowed to convince the objector that its existence is impossible.

This analysis is borne out by the remarks that Plato now puts into the mouth of Parmenides. Parmenides reasserts the difficulties involved both in the ascertaining and the expounding of the forms. Socrates agrees. Parmenides then allows that if belief in the forms is rejected because of these difficulties, the validity of both thought and communication will be completely destroyed (135a–c). It is difficult, I think, to dispute that these remarks are an accurate statement of Plato's own views; and as such they need no further comment. Parmenides then suggests that Socrates' difficulties are due to his attempting to define the forms without the necessary preliminary dialectical training. It is an illustration of such training which occupies the second part of the dialogue.

## II

Parmenides suggests that a selected form should be subjected to dialectical examination. But he makes two important stipulations. First, the enquiry is not to be confined to the objects of perceptual experience; it is to extend to those entities which are apprehended by dialectic ( $\lambda\circ\gamma\omega$ ) and can be considered as forms. Second, not only must those consequences be deduced which follow if the selected form exists, but also those that follow if it does not exist; and further, the consequences must be deduced not only for the form itself but also for those things which are other than the form. In addition to Zeno's original supposition of plurality, the following forms are suggested: similarity, dissimilarity, motion, rest, generation, decay, existence, and non-existence. After a show of protest, Parmenides agrees to perform the demonstration, and he selects unity as being his own hypothesis (137b). Unity is accordingly examined under four separate arguments; but within each argument, directly contradictory conclusions are deduced. We thus find eight arguments set out as follows:

- (1) If unity exists, certain specific conclusions can be deduced about itself.
- (2) If unity exists, conclusions can be deduced about itself contradictory to the conclusions of (1).
- (3) If unity exists, certain specific conclusions can be deduced about everything else.
- (4) If unity exists, conclusions can be deduced about everything else contradictory to the conclusions of (3).

(5) If unity does not exist, certain specific conclusions can be deduced about itself.

(6) If unity does not exist, conclusions can be deduced about itself contradictory to the conclusions of (5).

(7) If unity does not exist, certain specific conclusions can be deduced about everything else.

(8) If unity does not exist, conclusions can be deduced about everything else contradictory to the conclusions of (7).

Before proceeding further to examine the purpose and result of this exercise, it must first be established that it is the same concept which is being discussed throughout, and that this concept is the Platonic form of unity. I think that any plausible interpretation of the second part must rest upon this assumption, but the assumption is open to two objections.

First, in the original discussion of Zeno's treatise at the beginning of the dialogue, Zeno himself declares its purpose to be an attack on the pluralists who attempt to ridicule Parmenides' supposition ( $\omega\varsigma \epsilon i \tilde{\epsilon}v \epsilon\sigma\tau i \pi o\lambda\lambda \kappa\alpha \gamma\epsilon\lambda o\alpha \sigma\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ). This is the starting-point of all the subsequent discussion of unity. Indeed already (at 128a-b) Socrates has referred to Parmenides' poem in which, he says, "you assert that the universe is one." And as we have seen, when Parmenides selects  $\tau\delta \tilde{\epsilon}v$  for the dialectical exercise, he does so on the grounds that its existence is his own original hypothesis.

Second, it has been urged that the ambiguity with which  $\tau\delta \tilde{\epsilon}v$  is discussed makes it impossible for it to be interpreted throughout as the Platonic Form. Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides* 112, asserts that "We shall miss Plato's whole intention, if we assume beforehand that 'The One' must stand all through for the same thing, and then identify it with the One Being of Parmenides, or the Neoplatonic One (or Ones) or the Hegelian Absolute, or the universe, or the unity of the real, or the Platonic Form." He further maintains that "the One" is implicitly defined at the outset of the different hypotheses. Wahl posits a combination of the Parmenidean and Platonic senses, suggesting in his *Etude sur le Parménide de Platon* 107 that "L'Un c'est L'Un de Parménide et Parménide lui-même a soin de dire que c'est de son hypothèse qu'il parle. Mais en même temps c'est l'idée Socratique en tant qu'elle est unité."

However, both these considerations can be effectively rebutted on the following grounds:

(a) The dialogue is a historical fiction. There is, as we have seen, no reason to suppose that Plato will put into the mouth of Parmenides

anything that the historical Parmenides might have been expected to say; and the *Parmenides* of the dialogue is in fact made to express views with which the historical Parmenides certainly would not have agreed. Similarly the young Socrates is made to hold views which he certainly did not hold at the age at which he is here pictured.

(b) Although certain arguments of the second part could be construed as referring to Parmenidean monism, it is clearly impossible so to interpret them all; and if Plato wished to discuss Parmenidean monism, he would not have done it in this intermittent way. Further, at 142a the conclusion of the first argument is agreed to be unacceptable; and the whole discussion is very remote from the homogenous sphere of Parmenidean cosmology. Finally, what would  $\tau\delta\lambda\lambda\alpha$  mean to the historical Parmenides?

(c) There are good reasons (to which I shall later refer more fully) for rejecting the interpretations of both Cornford and the transcendentalists. But the ambiguities of the second part do not invalidate the contention that it is nevertheless the form of unity which is under discussion throughout. It is clear that for the dialectical exercise to be successful, it will only be possible for the appearance of plausibility to be maintained if a considerable degree of sophistry is employed. But equally it is clear that the exercise loses any point it may have if it is not the same concept from which the contradictions are to be apparently deduced. Parmenides' preliminary descriptions of the form the exercise is to take assumes throughout that it is the same concept which is to be subjected to it, and it is not surprising if he has to treat this concept illegitimately in order to achieve his object.

(d) Unity is selected for discussion, as we have seen, out of a list of forms. It has been considered as a form from the moment (129b) when Socrates puts it forward as such. Parmenides accepts throughout the consideration of abstracts as forms. Moreover at 129d, 129e, and 130b unity is mentioned together with at least one other form.

But two further questions still remain. First, what exactly did Plato understand at the time of writing by the form of  $\tau\delta\ \xi\nu$ ? And second, why did he choose this particular form for the dialectical exercise? Leaving aside, for the moment, the meaning which  $\tau\delta\ \xi\nu$  must bear for the Neoplatonic interpreters, we are left with a certain ambiguity in the way it is treated by Plato. For in addition to the concept of unity or singleness (as contrasted with plurality) it is also the number 1, the first in the series of positive integers; and this mathematical status has, I think, received too little attention from commentators on the *Parmenides*.

The number 1 is somewhat ambiguously treated both by Plato and by Greek mathematics as a whole. For the purpose of calculation it was normally treated like the other positive integers. (The Greeks had, of course, no knowledge of 0 and the negative integers, and regarded fractions as the expression of a ratio between numbers.) Thus at *Laws* 818c Plato speaks of one, two, and three as on a par with each other. At *Phaedo* 101b–c he explicitly states that every two is two by participation in the idea of twoness and every one one by participation in the idea of oneness. Aristotle at *Met.* 1080a counts number as 1, 2, 3. But on the whole one is treated as different and distinct from the rest, as at *Rep.* 524d, *Phaedo* 104a–b, *Met.* 987b, 1088a, *Phys.* 207b.; cf. Euclid, *Elements* VII, props. 9 and 15. This seems due to the fact that for the Greeks number was a plurality or synthesis of units; cf. Euclid VII, def. 2. However, the term “unit” was differently understood by Plato from the way in which it was understood by Aristotle or the Pythagoreans. For the Pythagoreans it meant an indivisible material point-unit existing in space; for Aristotle it meant either a concept in respect of which objects are counted, or one of the objects so counted; cf. *Met.* 1088a. But for Plato the term “unit” can only be understood in relation to the theory of the ideal numbers and the intermediates. Here we find the same preoccupation with the paradox of unity and plurality. The discussion of arithmetic in the *Republic* seems to suggest a line of argument as follows: No sensible object is truly single since it partakes at the same time both of oneness and of an indefinite plurality; therefore to predicate oneness in relation to any particular is to express a relation of imperfect exemplification between the idea of oneness and the particular concerned. The perfect exemplifications of the ideal numbers are the mathematical numbers. Plato was perhaps led to abstract the mathematical numbers through seeing the inadequacies of the Parmenidean system; cf. *Philebus* 56c–e, *Met.* 987b. But he had still to posit above the mathematical numbers the ideal numbers, since there are infinitely many mathematical 1s, 2s, etc. Thus, we have the unique transcendent forms of oneness, twoness, and the rest.

This is not, of course, intended to give a summary of Plato's philosophy of arithmetic, about which there is still no unanimity among Platonic scholars.<sup>8</sup> But I hope it will serve to indicate that τὸ ἐν, although considered by Plato to be more of a philosophical than a mathematical concept, can never be wholly divorced from its somewhat ambiguous mathematical status. Indeed, at *Parm.* 143a–144a we find what can, I think, be interpreted as an outline proof of the infinity of the series of positive integers, and at 149a–c a recursive proof of the

relation between the number of terms and the number of contacts in any finite linear sequence of terms. These passages can hardly accord with a monistic interpretation; but they do not, of course, indicate in any way that Plato did not regard one as different from the other numbers in kind. In the first place it is pervasive in a way that they are not, and is closely affiliated with the concept of existence without being synonymous with it; at *Rep.* 524d Plato explicitly states that the study of  $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\nu$  will guide the soul to the contemplation of true being. Further, even if considered purely mathematically, it is essential as a fundamental concept to any theory of numbers without requiring any such theory for itself. I would accordingly suggest that the form of  $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\nu$  meant at this time both of two things to Plato: first, oneness, by which I mean the form or idea of the number one; and second, singleness or unity. By this I mean what I have called the philosophical rather than the mathematical concept implicit in any proposition concerning an object, concept, or class of objects considered as a single whole and distinguished from any and all other objects, classes, or concepts. Further, I would agree with Professor Ryle that the only feasible translation is not "The One" but "Unity."<sup>9</sup>

Why, then, did Plato choose this particular form for the dialectical exercise? We are specifically told at 136e that it is not to be the form of any visible object, since it has already been agreed that such objects exemplify in themselves the paradox of contradictory predicates. The theory of forms was suggested by Socrates at 128eff. as resolving this paradox; but he has stated at 129b-c that if someone proves to him that unity can be many and plurality one, then he will begin to be surprised. It is precisely this which Parmenides proceeds ostensibly to do. This would seem to suggest the link between the two parts of the dialogue. First, Socrates has suggested the forms of unity, similarity, and other such terms. Parmenides raises certain objections directed against the relation between forms and particulars, but agrees that forms exist; he suggests that Socrates can see no way out because he has undertaken to define the forms too soon, before he has undergone the necessary training (135c-d). He accordingly proposes and carries out his eight-fold exercise on the form of unity. Whatever interpretation we may ultimately place upon the exercise, it seems to follow from the first part consistently enough.

The choice of unity is in no way surprising, since the problems and paradoxes of unity and plurality are one of Plato's fundamental pre-occupations during this period. Socrates has already raised the question at the outset of the dialogue. In the *Philebus*, Plato again returns to

the problem of how the forms can retain their unity yet be present in many particulars. In the *Sophist* 244bff., there reappears the paradox of existing unity entailing a duality of unity (oneness) and being. Linked with the problems of unity and plurality are those of the  $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\nu$  and the great and small, which reappear in the *Philebus* and are shown by the evidence of Aristotle to have assumed increasing importance, together with  $\tau\circ\ \tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ , in Plato's later metaphysics. Thus in the second part of the *Parmenides* we may expect to trace both the reflection of his present preoccupation and the seeds of his future doctrine. But, as we shall see, any attempt to find a positive exposition of doctrine must break down over the layout and content of the eight hypotheses.<sup>10</sup>

What, then, is the purpose of the exercise? I clearly have not the space to examine all the various suggestions made by previous commentators. But before considering the more recent interpretations which (rightly, as I believe) draw a positive moral from the ostensible *reductio ad absurdum* of the deliberate eightfold contradiction, I propose to deal briefly with the three principal traditional interpretations.

*The parody interpretation.* This maintains that the object of the arguments is to parody and so to ridicule the Eleatic dialectic. It is open to the following damaging objections: (a) Plato is known to have had a great respect for Parmenides; cf. *Theaet.* 183c. Though he may have disagreed with him, he is hardly likely to make Parmenides parody his own methods. (b) Parmenides himself at 142a implies that the argument of the first hypothesis is inadmissible; if it is a parody, the parody loses its force at once. (c) The Eleatic stranger of the *Sophist* and *Politicus* has never been held to be a parody. (d) It is Parmenides himself who speaks of the arguments as  $\pi\alpha\delta\iota\alpha$ ; if this is translated as "jest" it loses its point in the mouth of Parmenides. As argued above, it is not a very effective parody if it is the object of the supposed ridicule who declares it to be so. (e) Some of the argumentation is in fact sound. (f) The parody, if it is one, is not only inefficient but laboriously unfunny.

*The transcendentalist interpretation.* This finds in the arguments a positive statement of metaphysical doctrine, first expounded by the Neoplatonists. Against this it may be argued as follows: (a) Such an interpretation is nowhere stated or implied in the dialogue itself. (b) It cannot take account of all the hypotheses, which cannot by any stretch of interpretation all be shown to state (even indirectly) some metaphysical doctrine. (c)  $\tau\circ\ \tilde{\epsilon}\nu$  as described in the first hypothesis (i.e.,

beyond knowledge, opinion, or perception) cannot be equated with the Good of the *Republic*.<sup>11</sup> (d) As we have seen, it is implied that the conclusion of the first hypothesis is absurd.

*Cornford's interpretation.* Cornford finds in the arguments both positive statement of doctrine and exercise in the detection of fallacy. This view is open to the single fatal objection that the one impairs the other and vice versa. Further, it is very surprising to find both together in the mouth of Parmenides, and it deprives of its point the eightfold layout of the arguments. Cornford's whole position is effectively demolished by Robinson, who also deals with the view of Professor Cherniss.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, we must look elsewhere for our interpretation. Broadly, there remain two approaches. First, there is the view upheld by Robinson in the article just cited. This view, originally put forward by Grote and supported by Ross, finds no further purpose in the arguments than dialectical exercise purely for its own sake. Second, there is the contention that some indirect doctrinal lesson is to be drawn from the total contradictions of the ostensible conclusion. This view is the basis of the interpretations of Ryle, Peck, and Scoon. It will be my contention that the most plausible interpretation of the dialogue must fall in some sense between these two approaches. Accordingly before advancing my own view I shall consider individually the interpretations of Robinson, Ryle, Peck, and Scoon.

*Robinson's interpretation.* Robinson maintains that the second part of the dialogue cannot be interpreted either as a direct or as an indirect statement of either doctrine or method. It is purely and simply an exercise in argument. Parmenides five times speaks of it as *γνῶμασια*. Having advised the young Socrates that he needs further training in dialectic, he proceeds to present him with a series of arguments which require very considerable dialectical skill to unravel. "The dialogue" (p. 177) "is addressed primarily to Plato's own supporters. . . . It is a manifesto for more dialectic and less enthusiasm." Parmenides is selected by Plato as the most authoritative figure who could be introduced for the inculcation of this lesson. In addition to the arguments which he goes through, he also recommends to the young Socrates the application of the Zenonian method to the assumptions both that an abstract idea is true and that it is false. Ross further draws attention to the *Politicus* (265d) where it is stated that the discussion is less important for its bearing on the problem than for the dialectical training which it affords. "It seems to me a mistake," Ross concludes, "to try to trace

grains of positive teaching in the wilderness of paradox which the hypotheses present.”<sup>13</sup>

*Comment.* This view is difficult to refute conclusively. While it is admittedly hard to find positive grounds for some constructive conclusion, it is impossible to dismiss out of hand the contention that the arguments have no other purpose than to offer a demonstration of dialectical gymnastics. But the gymnastic view remains open to serious objections as follows:

It is strongly implied within the dialogue itself that the dialectical exercise will lead to the discovery of the truth. The *γνημασία* is originally recommended by Parmenides as the solution to the inability of Socrates to answer the questions which have been discussed (135c–d). He concludes his description of the form the exercise should take with the words “if after performing your exercise (*γνημασάμενος*) you are really going to make out the truth” (136c). Zeno declares at 136e that “most people are unaware of the fact that it is impossible to come upon the truth and acquire understanding without this comprehensive and circuitous enquiry.”

It does not, of course, necessarily follow from these hints that there will be a direct constructive conclusion from the subsequent arguments. It is still possible that the benefit will come by returning to the original dilemma after the experience gained by following through to their conclusion a series of complicated arguments which are not directly relevant. But this seems on the face of it unlikely. Such a view is further weakened by what Robinson admits to be the defect of the gymnastic theory. “The second part of the dialogue is not really, as it professes to be, a case of the exercise that Parmenides recommends, but an argument by examining which we who read the dialogue may obtain that exercise.”<sup>14</sup> Robinson is prepared to admit this “slight incoherence,” but accepts it as preferable to any possible alternative. But the situation is worse than he allows. He admits that Parmenides makes serious methodological recommendations: but if this is so, it must at once weaken the gymnastic theory and be weakened by it. If the recommendations are not to produce a constructive conclusion from the dialectical exercise, what is the point of the dialectical exercise? Or if the point of the second half is the gymnastics of the dialectical exercise, why are we given the recommendations?

Further, if the object of the second part is dialectical training for its own sake only, we may question whether this is the best way of giving it. It is surely curious to perform such training without making clear that it is what it is. In the *Sophist* 259b Plato expresses his contempt for

playing upon contradictions in discussion for their own sake.<sup>15</sup> What is difficult and worthwhile is the careful and critical examination of such paradoxes. Now it is possible that no further implication need be drawn from this than that such examination is worthwhile for the sake of practice only. But once again it is surely more reasonable to conclude that Plato recommends such examination for the sake of some constructive results, as opposed to the mere dialectical sophistry of constructing the paradoxes. I do not suggest that this one passage from a dialogue written later than the *Parmenides* can give any conclusive hint towards the interpretation of the second part, but its implications seem to me to point away from the gymnastic theory.

Finally, we may object that Robinson's original exclusion of any other interpretation is not satisfactory. He adduces strong arguments to support his view that the arguments are neither a direct nor an indirect statement of doctrine or method. But none of his arguments in fact controverts any of the three interpretations which I am next proposing to consider. These share a common basis of interpretation, holding that the eightfold operation constitutes in some sense a *reductio ad absurdum*: that is to say, they maintain that a constructive conclusion is to be drawn not from the arguments themselves, but from the fact that the arguments can be laid out as they are. Thus Plato is using the dialectical exercise to point out some implication concerning the behaviour or nature of the concept under discussion. Robinson's dichotomous classification of doctrine and method does not really apply here. Such an implication as I have outlined would, I suppose, be described as an indirect statement of doctrine. But in Robinson's dismissal of the possibility that the arguments are an indirect statement of doctrine, he takes the phrase in a different and limited sense. He considers it to mean "proving some proposition by reducing its contradictory to absurdity."<sup>16</sup> But what these interpretations maintain is that Plato is by implication deducing a proposition about a concept (or type of concept) from the fact that contradictory conclusions can apparently be deduced about it. This method of interpretation does not seem to be considered by Robinson.

*Ryle's interpretation.* Professor Ryle considers the dialogue as a whole to be an early essay in the theory of types. The arguments of the second part are designed to bring out the difference in logical behaviour between certain types of universal, or between formal and non-formal concepts. This is achieved by pointing out the anomalies of treating Unity as though it were a non-formal or "proper" concept such as, shall we say,

Yellowness or Justice. Socrates has said that he will be surprised if it can be shown that forms can undergo contrary predicates; Parmenides by the use of the Zenonian method demonstrates that Unity can. Ryle rejects the idea that the moral we are to draw is the illegitimacy of treating any universal as though it were a substance or a proper name (although it is of course true that it is illegitimate). But he thinks that Plato wishes to demonstrate only that concepts of different logical or syntactical status cannot be made to behave as though the rules of their co-functioning were similar. In support of this view, Professor Ryle finds indications of a similar awareness of this fact in both the *Sophist* and the *Theaetetus*, and explicit statement of it in Aristotle.

*Comment.* The one objection to this view is that it is altogether too sophisticated. Ryle is indeed aware of this danger, and claims little more than that Plato was "beginning to see" the difference in types of concept, which is certainly true enough. But I think it may be disputed whether he ever saw them at all in the form outlined by Ryle. Ryle's whole interpretation implicitly attributes to Plato a knowledge of the distinction between semantics and ontology which Plato never possessed. Now this distinction is obviously relevant to a critical examination of Plato's views, and it is a distinction of which Aristotle was certainly aware. But there is abundant evidence in Plato's dialogues that he himself was not — that is to say, that he was incapable of distinguishing a purely logical or syntactical question as such. Such questions are indeed implicit in both the *Sophist* and the *Theaetetus*, but I do not think it can satisfactorily be demonstrated that they are ever more than implicit.

This is primarily because for Plato such discussions were neither about logic nor syntax, but about forms. Now it is possible and indeed likely that in the *Parmenides* Plato may be using the dialectical exercise to point to some conclusion about one or more forms. But from this to assert that he is saying something about the logical behaviour of one or more concepts is at once misleading. Similarly it is misleading to find in the *Sophist* the discovery of the copula; it is the discovery of the properties of a certain form.<sup>17</sup> Robinson rightly remarks of the *Sophist* in his article, "Plato's Consciousness of Fallacy," *Mind* N.S. LI (1942) 114, that "Not provided with any semantic concepts, and mistaking the ontological nature of his subject matter, Plato has yet contrived to get wonderfully close to certain facts about language." Some of these facts were stated by Aristotle, but this is no evidence that Plato saw them as such. The description of a hierarchy of forms cannot really be called an exercise in logical syntax. Similarly, although the *Theaetetus* points

out that knowledge must be of a complex of simple elements, Plato does not draw the conclusions implicit in this discovery; and indeed Socrates' "dream" is propounded only to be refuted (202dff.). Ryle tells us that Plato "is consciously developing a method of inspecting the formal properties of such complexes of elements as constitute truths and falsehoods." But this is unwarrantable. It is certainly true that the notion put forward in Socrates' "dream" has important implications on how we are to interpret such a statement as "Unity exists." But Plato does not enquire into such implications. He points out that it is possible mistakenly to believe that seven plus five equals eleven, whereas it is impossible to mistake the number eleven for the number twelve. But he never considers whether the simple elements of knowledge will be of different logical types, or in what way "unity exists" is a statement of a different order from "twelve is the sum of seven and five."

Further, we may object that if Plato had in fact been aware of the considerations which Ryle imputes to him, they would entail a revision of the theory of ideas of a kind which there is no evidence that Plato made. That he was aware that certain forms possess very different properties from others has already been admitted; and the *Sophist* does embody certain modifications of the early theory of forms. But to say that he was aware of difference in logical status would imply a pervasive recognition of the illegitimacy of treating the forms in a logically anomalous way, e.g. by making them the subjects of predicative statements of the form "justice is just" as opposed to perfectly meaningful statements of the noun-copula-adjective form such as "justice is commendable." There is no evidence, however, that Plato ever fully realized the fundamental antinomy involved in the notion that the ideas are instances of themselves; and as I shall hope to show, it is not necessary to interpret the second part of the *Parmenides* as an implicit recognition of this antinomy. Professor Ryle suggests that some such recognition is likewise implicit in the first part. But the conclusion of the first part surely implies, as I have tried to show, that Plato cannot have seen how damaging this consideration in fact is. Ryle is prepared to dismiss the objection that his interpretation of the dialogue imputes to Plato the overt demonstration of the logical untenability of the very principles of his system. Why, he asks, must Plato be forbidden the illumination of self-criticism? Now clearly there is nothing impossible in itself about the notion that Plato or any other philosopher may make drastic revisions of his own tenets. But in Plato's latest writings there is no evidence of such a drastic revision. As far as we know, he continued long after the writing of the *Parmenides* to hold to the doctrine of

substantial forms. The conclusion seems to be that we cannot accept an interpretation of the dialogue which finds in it arguments (however true) which can only be formulated in the light of later philosophical developments.

*Peck's interpretation.* This holds the purpose of the arguments to be to show that  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \dot{\epsilon}v$  is not a legitimate form. Plato puts into the mouth of Parmenides a sequence of verbal sophistries in order to illustrate the error of positing forms on the basis of deceptive verbal images. The statement "x is just" is a legitimate example of  $\mu\acute{e}\theta\epsilon\xi s$  from which we are entitled to posit the existence of the form justice; "x is one" is on the other hand an illegitimate example of  $\mu\acute{e}\theta\epsilon\xi s$ . No form of "the One" exists, just as no form of  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \mu\dot{y}\ \check{o}v$  or of  $\theta\acute{a}\tau\epsilon\rho o v$  exists. A particular is not one through participation in the form of "the One" but through participation in a form which is one. The same is true of "Being." Any form exists and is single of its own nature, not through participation in  $o\acute{u}\sigma\acute{a}$  or  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \dot{\epsilon}v$ . "'Oneness' is a non-significant abstraction in the sense that 'one' means something different in every case just as 'other' meant something different in every case. 'One man' consists of several parts and *one* man is not the same as *one* leg." Socrates has stated that he would be surprised if Zeno could show that "the One itself" is many. Plato demonstrates that this cannot be shown simply because "the One itself" is not a form. Peck supports this argument by reference to his analysis of the  $\mu\acute{e}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\ \gamma\acute{e}\nu\eta$  of the *Sophist*. He holds that we are to conclude from the *Sophist* that  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \mu\dot{y}\ \check{o}v$ ,  $\theta\acute{a}\tau\epsilon\rho o v$ ,  $\tau\alpha\acute{u}\tau\acute{o}v$ , and  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \check{o}v$  ( $o\acute{u}\sigma\acute{a}$ ) are not true forms: and we are to draw a similar conclusion for  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \dot{\epsilon}v$  in the *Parmenides*.

*Comment.* We must first enquire whether this rejection of  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \dot{\epsilon}v$  as a form is borne out by Plato's subsequent teaching. In the first place, there is no explicit statement in Plato that  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \dot{\epsilon}v$  is to be denied the rank of idea, and outside the *Parmenides* nothing which so far as I know has ever been regarded as an implicit statement to this effect. Nor is there any evidence in Aristotle which might support this contention. Within the dialogue itself, unity is referred to among "the forms themselves, such as similarity, dissimilarity, plurality, unity, rest, motion and all the other concepts of this kind" (129d-e). Are we then to conclude that these are likewise to be rejected as forms? Similarity is referred to by Parmenides at 131a in the same breath with size, beauty, and justice. At 130b Socrates has expressed equal certainty about the existence of forms of similarity, unity, and plurality and about forms of justice, beauty, and goodness. This does not, of course, prove that Plato's

intention was not to recant in part this earlier doctrine of his own which he puts into the mouth of the young Socrates.<sup>18</sup> But if this is so, it is surely surprising to find reference at *Theaet.* 185c–186b to existence, non-existence, similarity, dissimilarity, unity, plurality, goodness, badness, beauty, and ugliness as concepts alike distinguished by thought rather than by sense.

But the most damaging objection to Peck's interpretation is what I described above as the mathematical status of  $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\nu$ . Here the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that not only did Plato believe in a form of Oneness, but that he assigned to it increasing importance. The belief is first explicitly stated in the *Phaedo* that things are one by partaking in the form of oneness. Now not only is there no evidence that Plato abandoned this view; but the *Philebus* (56c–e), which is generally agreed to have been written after the *Parmenides*, seems to confirm the theory of mathematical numbers which we find implied in the *Republic* and the *Phaedo* and which is attributed to Plato by Aristotle. Peck's claim that Oneness is a "non-significant abstraction" is argued on the grounds that "one bicycle consists of various parts and the oneness of a bicycle is not the same as the oneness of a wheel."<sup>19</sup> But it is precisely as a solution to this problem that Plato conceived the notion of the mathematical unit as I have earlier outlined it. It is certainly true that for Plato the oneness of a bicycle would differ from the oneness of a wheel. But as we have seen it is the mathematical one which is the true and perfect exemplification of the ideal one. Are we to infer from the *Parmenides* that Plato abandoned the belief in the ideal numbers? Certain problems do indeed exist concerning Plato's later beliefs as to the relation between the ideal numbers and the other ideas, but there is no evidence that he ever denied them the rank of ideas. However, Peck seems to suggest that it is only oneness which is not a form; if it were a form it is difficult to see how it could generate other forms together with the great and small, whereas in fact any form or particular must of its proper nature exist and be one, not through participation in forms of unity and existence. The objection to this view is not that it is necessarily unsound, but that there is no evidence that Plato held it, any more than that he was aware of the antinomy of the ideas being instances of themselves. An independent consideration of this kind cannot be evidence in support of the view that Plato rejected  $\tau\delta\ \epsilon\nu$  as a form. Peck's view must rest solely on his interpretation of the *Parmenides* itself, and I hope I have said enough to show that here the view must be rejected.

*Scoon's interpretation.* Scoon maintains that Plato wishes to show the illegitimacy of reasoning with abstract concepts which have no reference to the particulars of experience. He too holds that the ideas with which Parmenides concerns himself in the second part of the dialogue are not forms. Plato is repudiating a rationalism that fails to take account of the visible world, by showing that such a failure allows contradictory and stultifying ambiguities in thought. However difficult it may be to formulate the relation of ideas to particulars, it is hopeless to try to consider abstract concepts without reference to particulars at all.

*Comment.* This view differs from Peck's in one important respect. Peck holds that Plato begins with the assumption that unity and the rest are forms, and then shows by the *reductio ad absurdum* that unity is not. Scoon seems to imply that the assumption is never made, but that the concepts dealt with cannot be forms because they do not have reference to particulars. I do not think this view is tenable. As we have already seen, the implications in the dialogue point strongly to the view that unity is throughout considered as a form. Further, we know that Plato certainly believed it possible to make statements about the ideas in the abstract, if only to say that they are instances of themselves. Now in his writings after the *Parmenides* we seem to find no abandonment of his belief in the transcendental nature of the ideas.<sup>20</sup> In particular the transcendent view is clearly expressed in the *Timaeus* 51b–52d, where the ideas are considered as pre-existent entities outside space and time. Finally, we may again urge the mathematical status of τὸ εὐ. Here it may be true that number must be derived originally from the perception of sensible particulars; but we certainly cannot say that Plato thought it impossible to formulate abstract truths about mathematics without reference to perceptible objects. It is clearly true that Plato is demonstrating that the discussion of unity in the abstract can apparently lead to contradictory conclusions. But it seems unwarrantable to infer from this that the moral he wishes to point is that all discussion about abstract concepts must be conducted with reference to particulars. This would entail that he believed it impossible to make meaningful predicative statements about forms except in so far as they are immanent in particulars. That Plato did not in fact believe this can be shown from passages taken from all the periods of his writing where the transcendent nature of the forms is clearly expressed, e.g., in addition to the passage from the *Timaeus* already cited, *Phaedo* 78, *Rep.* 500, *Phaedrus* 247, *Phil.* 59.

I am of course aware that the brief treatment I have given them does

not do full justice to any of the interpretations which I have outlined. But I hope enough has been said to show that none of them can be regarded as satisfactory. Accordingly it only remains to offer some comments of my own.

The crux of the problem is that we are led to expect that the dialectical exercise will enable us to resolve the difficulties on which our attention has been focused in the first part of the dialogue. But for this, we could without difficulty see the relation of the second part to the first. It could be seen as raising the paradoxes apparently arising from the relation of forms to each other in the same way that the first part raised those apparently arising from the relation of forms to particulars. The conclusion put into Parmenides' mouth at the end of Part I would then be applicable to both parts, namely that in spite of these difficulties the forms must exist since without them the significance of all thought and discourse will be destroyed. The aporetic nature of the dialogue as a whole need not of itself be surprising. In the *Theaetetus* Socrates and Theaetetus are represented as unable to define knowledge; but no one will maintain that Plato, either before or after the writing of the *Theaetetus*, believed that there was no such thing. However, the transitional passage in the *Parmenides* suggests that the gymnastic exercise will actually help to circumvent or to solve the problems with which the young Socrates has found himself faced. It is my purpose to suggest how Plato may have thought this to be so.

There is one important hint within the transitional passage. At 135c-d Parmenides attributes young Soerates' difficulties to his having prematurely undertaken to define the forms without the necessary training: *Πρώ γάρ, εἰπεῖν, πρὶν γυμνασθῆναι, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅρίζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖς καλόν τέ τι καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐν ἔκαστον τῶν εἰδῶν*. This does not mean that the dialectical exercise will explicitly be an exercise in definition. In fact it is a series of deductions not from hypothetical definitions but from an existential hypothesis and its denial. But it is clearly implied that the exercise will throw light on problems arising from premature and misguided definition of forms. I do not propose to discuss the whole question of Socratic definition.<sup>21</sup> But a few remarks are relevant at this point. Definitions are offered and either accepted or rejected in dialogues both before and after the *Parmenides*. But we nowhere have what Plato professes to regard as a complete definition of a form as such. At *Theaet.* 147c he gives an example of what he would regard as a satisfactory answer to the "What is X?" question. To "What is mud?" a satisfactory answer is "earth mixed with water." But Plato clearly would not regard this as a

satisfactory answer to the question "What is the form of mud?" It is certainly not earth mixed with water. But is it earthiness mixed with wateriness? Or is it  $\alphaὐτὴ\; \eta\; γῆ$  mixed with  $\alphaὐτῷ\; τῷ\; ὑγρῷ$ ? Since at *Parm.* 130c, when young Socrates expressed hesitancy about the existence of a form of mud, he was advised not to be squeamish, we must suppose that Plato thought such a form did exist. Presumably he thought that it stood in some relation to the forms of earth and water, and this relation we may suppose he came to regard as discernible by the method of diaeresis. But that discernment by diaeresis of the interrelations between forms, not descriptive definition of these forms, is the solution Plato hoped to find for young Socrates' dilemma, is, I shall contend, precisely the moral of the *Parmenides*. Definition of the essence whose reality was entailed by Plato's ontological presuppositions was at all stages the object of the vaunted science of dialectic. But after the *Parmenides* Plato adopts an entirely different method. The remarks of young Socrates at *Parm.* 129b-e may be taken to show that Plato had become aware of the problems posed by the relations necessarily entailed within the world of forms; and it is diaeresis, not hypothesis, which is brought to bear on these problems in the *Sophist*.

It is arguable both on these and other grounds whether "define" is the best translation for  $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  (or  $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\epsilon\omega\iota\omega$ : I can find no distinction between Plato's use of the active and middle when he is using the verb in this sense). However, I shall be using "definition" to mean what I think  $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  meant to Plato; and some further comment is therefore necessary. There are places in the dialogues where "designate," "distinguish," or "determine" appears to be a better translation than "define." At *Gorg.* 470b  $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\; \tau\iota\alpha\; \overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\eta$  seems to mean "what criterion do you propose?" At *Phaedo* 104e ( $\delta\; \tau\iota\iota\nu\nu\; \overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\iota\omega$   $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$ )  $\overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega$  seems to mean little more than "settle" or "decide." But the underlying idea is in all cases the search for essential attributes. At *Soph.* 246b  $\tau\alpha\tau\tau\omega\; \sigma\hat{\omega}\mu\omega\; \kappa\alpha\; \omega\sigma\iota\alpha\; \overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\omega\mu\omega\omega\iota\omega$  means not what we should mean by "defining  $\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$  as  $\sigma\hat{\omega}\mu\omega$ " so much as "identifying  $\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$  and  $\sigma\hat{\omega}\mu\omega$ ." At *Theaet.* 187c where the question is asked,  $\tau\iota\eta\; \dot{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\; \delta\omega\zeta\omega\iota\omega\; \overset{\circ}{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\theta\mu\eta\eta\iota\omega\; \overset{\circ}{\rho}\iota\zeta\eta$ ; the point is not "do you propose to designate true opinion by the word knowledge?" but "is true opinion what knowledge really is?" I think that Plato's idea of definition was further reinforced by his confusion of description and reference which we find in the *Cratylus*; cf. esp. 388b, 428e, 435d.<sup>22</sup> Plato thought that to name something was to describe it, and that you could not really say anything useful about it without having grasped its essential nature; for this second point, cf. *Meno*

86d–e, *Prot.* 360e–361a, *Theaet.* 196d–e. Thus for Plato a full definition (although he sometimes seems only to want a distinguishing mark, as at *Euthyphro* 6d–e) must be not any equivalent or synonym but a descriptive account of those essential attributes of the thing itself which make it what it is. This is what Socrates is described by Parmenides at *Parm.* 135c–d as having attempted to do without the necessary training. It is clear that in the case of forms this will involve statements describing interrelations existing between forms, to which Plato hints that he has hitherto paid too little attention. It is this that I mean when I talk about “definition” in the remainder of this article.

We are now in a position to consider how a constructive moral may be implicit in the dialectical exercise. This must first involve the difficult question of how far Plato regarded the argumentation as valid or invalid. If he was clear in his own mind about the relative merits of the deductions, it is possible that we should interpret the exercise as giving a practice in argumentation which, after the fallacies have been successfully detected and weeded out, will leave a residue of sound doctrine adequate to explain the relation of such forms as unity both to the other forms and to particulars. On this view, all possible conclusions are to be drawn from both the existential hypothesis and its denial, in order that those which are sound may be extracted from the rest and accepted as valid. Unfortunately, for reasons which I shall now give, I do not think this is possible. But I also shall hope to show that hypotheses (4) to (8) have an independent value apart from the rest.

It is extremely difficult to distinguish clearly what in fact are the ambiguities on which the arguments of the exercise rest. However, I follow Robinson in concluding that there appear to be three principal fallacies: confusion of identity and attribution; confusion of an adjective with the substantive characterized by it; and the fallacy of reification. To these I would add a misunderstanding of the notion of nonexistence which underlies almost all the argumentation of hypotheses (5) and (6), where deductions are made about the nature of a unity which, *ex hypothesi*, does not exist. Some of the arguments appear so crassly fallacious (Robinson cites, for example, 139d–e, 147c, and 157c–d) that it seems impossible not to feel that Plato saw them to be so. But I am doubtful whether, at least until the time of writing the *Sophist*, he was more than dimly aware of the nature of the fallacies involved. Some hint of a consciousness of ambiguity appears as early as *Euthyd.* 278b; but  $\tau\eta\tau\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\delta\alpha\phi\rho\alpha\tau$ , which is there referred to, seems to mean no more than examples as crass as puns. The confusion between identity and attribution occurs even in the *Sophist* at 244b–c

where Plato is certainly arguing in his proper person. We may be reluctant to believe that Plato saw nothing wrong with the arguments of *Parm.* 146d–e concerning sameness and difference; but his statement at *Soph.* 256a that *οὐ γὰρ ὅταν εἴπωμεν αὐτὴν ταῦτὸν καὶ μὴ ταῦτὸν ὁμοίως εἰρήκαμεν* reads more like a discovery than the recapitulation of a recognized ambiguity, nor is there even a hint of it before its occurrence here. Reification and the confusion between an adjective and the substance it characterizes are both inherent in the theory of forms itself, but, as I have tried to demonstrate, there is no warrant for holding the *Parmenides* to be a recantation of the theory. The confusion about nonexistence seems blatant at 161c–d. But until he formulated his answer about nonexistence in the *Sophist*, it is not impossible that Plato could not see why a nonexistent unity, being not equal, need not therefore be unequal.

Thus it seems improbable that Plato saw at all clearly where and why the arguments of the exercise are fallacious; and accordingly it is highly unlikely that he expected his readers to be able to do so. The view that he does not distinguish in value between the deductions is reinforced by their layout. Each conclusion appears to be deduced only in order to furnish the requisite antithesis. At 137c it is argued that if unity is one it can have no parts, at 142c–d that it must have the two parts of unity and existence. At 146a existent unity is both at rest and in motion; at 162e nonexistent unity is likewise both at rest and in motion. To cite further examples would merely be tedious. What renders conclusive the view that no residual doctrine can be intended to remain after the detection of fallacies is that on any conceivable view of Plato's awareness of the fallacies it is impossible to see what this doctrine would be. One example will be adequate to illustrate this. At 155d the conclusion that unity is knowable (which Plato must have thought sound) is reached on the curious grounds that it exists in time, therefore there will be something of it (*εἴη ἀν τι ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐκείνον*), therefore there will be knowledge and opinion and perception of it. But at 141d–142a it has been shown unknowable because extratemporal, although in the *Timaeus* Plato appears to regard the forms as outside space and time. I accordingly conclude that Plato does not distinguish in logical merit between the different deductions, and that the moral of the exercise must lie in the fact that the contradictions are possible at all.

However, that there is a discernible purpose in the last four hypotheses as a whole is hinted by the discussion at the very beginning of the dialogue (128d). The purpose of the treatise which Zeno has been reading is said to be to show that the denial of a certain hypothesis leads

to contradictions worse than those resulting from its assertion. Now the conclusion of hypotheses (4) to (8) is summarized by the assertion at 166b-c, that if unity does not exist then nothing exists (*οὐκοῦν καὶ συλλήβδην εἰ εἴποιμεν ἐν εἰ μὴ ἔστιν οὐδέν ἔστι, ὅρθῶς ἀν εἴποιμεν*). Plato surely regarded this conclusion as more absurd than the apparent possession by unity and  $\tau\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  of contradictory predicates. This consideration does not, of course, provide the solution to these paradoxes. But the amplified Zenonian method has at least shown grounds for not concluding from these paradoxes that unity does not exist. Effort to resolve them will still be worthwhile. It remains to show how Plato may have thought such effort more likely to succeed after the performance of the dialectical exercise as a whole.

I wish to suggest that the moral of the exercise is that forms are not definable by deduction from existential hypotheses. Exhaustive application of this method has been shown to lead as legitimately to one set of contradictory conclusions as to another. This does not of itself resolve the difficulties in which Socrates finds himself, but it shows how these difficulties can arise and hints that some other method is necessary. This method is the method of diaeresis. That it is not expounded in the dialogue itself is not surprising. Parmenides twice (134e–135b, cf. 133b) stresses the length of time and discussion necessary to overcome the difficulties of the theory of forms. But that diaeresis was Plato's answer to the problems of premature definition is shown by a passage in the *Phaedrus* (277b) where definition is declared necessary to the knowledge of truth and unequivocally associated with the method of diaeresis: *Πρὶν ᾧ τις τό τε ἀληθὲς ἐκάστων εἰδῆ περὶ ὧν λέγει ἡ γράφει κατ' αὐτό τε πᾶν ὄριζεσθαι δυνατὸς γένηται ὄρισάμενός τε πάλιν κατ' εἰδη μέχρι τοῦ ἀτμήτου τέμνειν ἐπιστηθῆ.* (Cf. 265d–266c.) The gymnastic exercise shows that the properties of unity and its relations with  $\tau\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  cannot be deduced from the premise of its existence, although denial of its existence will engender both for itself and  $\tau\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  contradictions which are at least as absurd. It thus paves the way for a method which defines forms by determining their relations with each other. Indeed, that the forms are in some sense ineffable seems implied by Plato at all stages of his writing; cf. *Symp.* 211a, *Ep. VII* 343b, *Rep.* 533a. After the *Parmenides*, however, Plato seems to have been convinced that the best way to attempt to grasp the essential nature of a form was not by hypothesis and deduction of its properties but by location of its place in the hierarchy of forms.

It is, of course, in fact the case that diaeresis does not resolve the difficulties raised in the *Parmenides*.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, as we have seen, they

are insoluble, since the theory of forms is logically unsound. But although certain commentators, including Ryle and Cherniss, have sought to minimize its importance, Plato assigns it unmistakable prominence in the later dialogues and makes explicit and extravagant claims on its behalf (most notably at *Phil.* 16c–e, *Phaedr.* 266b). The method of dichotomous division<sup>24</sup> is not, of course, the same as that which discovers the relations of the  $\mu\acute{e}g\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{e}v\eta$ . But both exemplify aspects of the new method which is concerned to distinguish those ontological interrelations which Plato assumed to exist. I do not find it incredible that although the method does not resolve the problems inherent in forms Plato should have believed it capable of doing so. The *Philebus* does not (as Stenzel claims it does) resolve the problems of participation by the method expounded in the *Sophist*. But it does at least appear to hint at the existence of a solution to the problem of "One and Many" which we may suppose Plato to have thought the key to the question of participation; and the *Sophist* does settle some, at least, of the problems of interrelation between forms to which our attention has been drawn in the *Parmenides*. The conclusion of the *Parmenides* is that the forms must exist despite the problems they raise. But they cannot be defined (or described or deduced from) in the way that the young Socrates had thought that they could. The gymnastic exercise, by leading to this conclusion, points the way to a method which will prove useful by charting the interrelations between the forms, which we know must exist.

How far Plato may have been aware of the fallacies in the argumentation and how far he had the method of diaeresis explicitly in mind<sup>25</sup> must remain to some extent matters of speculation. But this does not invalidate the conclusion that the exercise demonstrates that some other method must be found for resolving the difficulties within the world of forms; and it is this new method which Plato brings to bear on the  $\mu\acute{e}g\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{e}v\eta$  in the *Sophist*. It is the thorough performance and examination of the  $\gamma\nu\mu\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$  which shows the way to a method which does explain or bypass the most important of the contradictions engendered by the method of deduction from existential hypotheses. The conclusion which Plato intended his readers to draw should perhaps be stated no more strongly than as follows: Since apparent contradictions can be deduced from even the simple hypothesis or denial of so fundamental and pervasive a form as unity, it is not to be wondered that the relation of forms to particulars is not capable of being clearly expressed; and a different method must be adopted for the explication of the forms, which although knowable to the trained philosopher are not precisely definable.

I am myself unable to form any confident opinion as to how far the *Parmenides* should be regarded as the deliberate and conscious precursor of the *Sophist*. But that the *Sophist* does offer some solution to the problems raised in the *Parmenides* is, I think, beyond question. Further, I hope I have shown that the *Parmenides* is best interpreted as to some extent paving the way for this solution. My view, if it is correct, embodies the contention that the purpose of the second part is dialectical training, but it gives this training a relevance lacking to the purely gymnastic interpretation. On any interpretation the exercise is so completely and deliberately exhaustive as to be tediously long. But I hope to have shown that it is likely that Plato intended some moral to be drawn from it, and that the dialogue can accordingly be seen to be both serious in content and coherent in form.<sup>26</sup>

## NOTES

- I list some of the more important recent contributions: G. Ryle, "Plato's Parmenides," *Mind* N.S. XLVIII (1939) 129ff.; R. Scoon, "Plato's Parmenides," *Mind* N.S. LI (1942) 115ff.; R. Robinson, "Plato's *Parmenides*," *Classical Philology* XXXVII (1942) 51ff., 159ff; Sir David Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas* (Oxford, 1951) 86ff.; A. L. Peck, "Plato's Parmenides," *Classical Quarterly* N.S. III (1953) 126ff.; G. Vlastos, "The Third Man Argument in the Parmenides," *Philosophical Review* LXIII (1954) 319ff. (also W. Sellars, *ibid.* LXIV (1955) 405-37; Vlastos, *ibid.* 438-48; P. T. Geach, *ibid.* LXV (1956) 72-82; Vlastos, *ibid.* 83-94); R. S. Bluck, "The Parmenides and the Third Man," *Classical Quarterly* N.S. VI (1956) 29ff.); K. Johannsen, "The One and the Many," *Classica et Mediaevalia* XVIII (1957) 1ff.
- This view, already held by Burnet and Taylor, has been revived by Peck.
- Cf. Arist. *Met.* 1079b 25-6, where Aristotle justly points out τὸ δὲ λέγειν παραδείγματα εἶναι καὶ μετέχειν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄλλα κενολογεῖν ἔστι καὶ μεταφορὰς λέγειν ποιητικάς.
- Cf. *Euthyphro* 12c, where reverence is described as a part of fear.
- Most notoriously expressed at *Prot.* 330c where the conclusion that justice is just seems to be arrived at by a fallacious use of the excluded middle: it is clearly absurd to say that justice is unjust, therefore it must be just. Cf. *Phaedo* 74d (equality is equal) and 100d (beauty is beautiful).
- Thus Peck, 136. However, Peck has earlier admitted (p. 134) that forms do not depend on souls for their existence. It must therefore presumably follow that particulars do.
- Among them Taylor, Cornford, Scoon, and Peck.
- For a fuller recent treatment of the problems here mentioned, see A. Wedberg, *Plato's Philosophy of Mathematics* (Stockholm, 1955).
- I do not think that it is necessary to consider here what may or may not have been Plato's later views on the form of τὸ ἔν and the ideal numbers as a whole. However we are to understand the accounts of Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the rest, it is clear that the closer Plato came to a mathematical theory of

the ideas the more metaphysically important τὸ εὖ became and the more closely affiliated to the Idea of the Good; cf. *Met.* 1091a–b. But there is no evidence that at the time of writing the *Parmenides* Plato had formulated any of these doctrines in the form in which they are later described by Aristotle; nor does Aristotle ever refer to the *Parmenides* in his discussion of them. It is enough to note in the preoccupations of the *Parmenides* a foreshadowing (at most) of Plato's later doctrines.

10. This mistake seems to me to be made by Johannsen in his remarks on the *Parmenides*. To say (p. 22) that the second part of the dialogue "deals with or touches on almost all serious problems in Plato's philosophy" does not make it legitimate to extract from the hypotheses selected doctrinal implications (as opposed to preoccupations) unless the selection is justified by a satisfactory interpretation of the dialectical exercise as a whole.

11. Cf. F. M. Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides* (New York, 1939) 131–34.

12. Robinson, 181–86; on Cherniss ("Parmenides and the *Parmenides* of Plato," *A.J.P.* LIII [1932] 122–38), 166–68.

13. Ross, 99, 101.

14. Robinson, 178.

15. Cf. *Philebus* 15d–16a.

16. Robinson, 76.

17. I am, of course, aware of the continuing discussion of this problem. I do not propose to enter this discussion here: but see for example J. L. Ackrill, "Plato and the Copula: *Sophist* 251–259," *J.H.S.* LXXVII (1957) (1) 1–6.

18. This is in fact suggested by Peck, 38.

19. Peck, 136–37.

20. Cf. Harold Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy* I (Baltimore, 1944) 214 n. 128.

21. On the question in general I am entirely in agreement with the analysis of Richard Robinson, *Plato's Earlier Dialectic*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953) 49–60.

22. Cf. Robinson, "A Criticism of Plato's Cratylus," *Philosophical Review* LXV (1956) 324–41, esp. p. 337. Against, Ronald B. Levinson, "Language and the Cratylus: Four Questions," *Review of Metaphysics* XI (1957) 28–41, esp. p. 37. Levinson's treatment, however, is extremely cursory and, in my view, altogether inadequate.

23. Stenzel appears to have thought it did in his *Plato's Method of Dialectic* (tr. D. J. Allen, Oxford, 1940) 138ff. He seems also to have thought (p. 135) that all relations between forms are of species to genus. But the relations described in the *Sophist* between the μέγιστα γένη are not of this kind.

24. It should also be noted that the method is not necessarily dichotomous. This is explicitly stated at *Pol.* 287c and *Phil.* 16d.

25. That the dialogue is an indirect and not very successful recommendation of communion is the interpretation of D. W. Hamlyn, "The Communion of the Forms and the Development of Plato's Logic," *Philosophical Quarterly* V (1955) 295–300. But he holds this on the grounds that the first part shows the dangers of pluralism and the second of monism. That this view is incompatible with my own is, I hope, clear.

26. Since writing this article I am indebted to Mr. J. M. E. Moravcsik for pointing out to me that my view of the independent value of hypotheses (5) to (8) closely follows that of Constantin Ritter.

## "ΥΨΟΣ AND THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL DECLINE IN THE *DE SUBLIMITATE*

BY CHARLES P. SEGAL

THIS essay will attempt to connect chapter 44 of the *De Sublimitate*, the treatment of the problem of cultural decline, with the rest of the work and to show that it forms an integral part of Longinus' wider theory of *υψος*. At the same time it will be necessary to emphasize certain aspects of his classicism that have been generally neglected, especially the *θεῖον* in man and the timelessness of sublime literature. The broader cosmological and psychological implications of the treatise will also be of special importance in discovering Longinus' answer to the problem of cultural decline and its relation to his general philosophical-rhetorical doctrine of the sublime. For the sake of convenience, we shall refer to the author of the *De Sublimitate* as Longinus.

Longinus' discussion of the problem of cultural and literary decline is not entirely a concession to Terentianus' "love of learning," as he says in 44.1, but rather, as will appear, arises from certain of his ideas which are fundamental to his theory of the sublime. Thus, although the specific problem is treated in a sort of appendix at the end of the work, it is not so isolated from the rest of the treatise as it might at first seem. Longinus has a well-formulated answer to the problem, which, if not entirely conscious, falls into a logical and systematic pattern.<sup>1</sup>

Longinus begins chapter 44 with a general statement of the problem: his age abounds in men who are "clever and skillful," but of minds that are "lofty" (*hypselai*) and "of extraordinary greatness" there is a "world shortage." He has hinted at this criticism earlier in the work, as, for example, in 5.1, "the love of novelty in expression which is much the craze of the day" (*κορυφαντιώσων οἱ νῦν*), and in 15.8, "as now, by Zeus, the clever orators of our day glance Furies." In the first part of 44, Longinus has some recent *philosophos* set forth the political causes, the common *topoi* for rhetorical writers of the first century A.D., namely the loss of freedom and therefore of both the incentive and the opportunity for great deeds in the change from democracy to empire and in the too settled conditions of the world (*ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη*, 44.6).<sup>2</sup> These causes, however, Longinus rejects, but blames much more (*πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον*, 44.6), the wealth and materialism of the age. His feeling of the force, immediacy, and penetration of this cause

appears in the diction: throughout 44.6–8 his language is powerful and full of generalizing absolutes ("all," "every," "each one"), with a rapid succession of violent images of war, drowning, disease, generation, decay.

Here, however, a problem of a sort arises: if Longinus accepts the moral causes so enthusiastically, why does he devote so much space to setting forth the political reasons, especially in the first part of the chapter? He might have merely passed over them briefly, as he does "the peace of the world" in 44.6. The language too of this first part is almost too convincing, and indeed shows the author genuinely and emotionally involved in the argument. The palliative *poly de mallon* in 44.6, moreover, might perhaps indicate that he does not feel that the political reasons are entirely invalid. That he feels that they may in fact have some weight appears from what he says in his own person, not that of the *philosophos*, earlier in the work, especially 9.3–4:

For it is impossible for those with mean and servile thoughts and pursuits throughout their entire life to bring forth anything wonderful and worthy of all eternity (*pantos aionos*). . . . Thus extraordinary elevation (*ta hyperphya*) falls to those who are especially spirited.

It is exactly this corruption of "spirited" men by "servile" thoughts that the new political conditions have supposedly produced. Thus there is a tacit contradiction between Longinus' rejection of the political causes on the one hand and convincing representation of them on the other. The extent to which Longinus really inclines to each view and the purpose and significance of the first part of chapter 44 will appear from a fuller discussion of the interconnection between the problem of cultural and literary decline and his general theory of the sublime.

If, however, because of an absolute cultural decline, *hypbos* is no longer attainable, then all the technical rhetorical instruction which occupies the middle of the treatise has no purpose.<sup>3</sup> Longinus, nevertheless, feels that this *techne* can contribute to *hypbos*, for he criticizes Caecilius for omitting the question of "how and through what methods it would come into our possession" (1.1). Is then *techne* the means of attaining *hypbos* and thus of overcoming the cultural decline? Through *techne* apparently, we can lead forth our souls "to a certain progress (*epidosin*) in greatness (*megethos*)" (1.1), and we should "nourish our souls, so far as is possible, towards greatness (*megethe*)" (9.1);<sup>4</sup> yet both of these expressions are qualified, so that *techne* seems only to turn us in the general direction of *hypbos* without actually putting it entirely within our grasp. Longinus, on the other hand, denies that pure *techne*

is sufficient (2.1) and constantly emphasizes the need for a combination of both *techne* and *physis*; as Demosthenes' figure of the oath shows, "even in the revels of imagination sobriety is required" (16.4). This combination, however, works only one way: that is, *physis* is the *first* requisite, without which there is nothing; *techne* is merely secondary, it can only furnish a "help to nature." The subordinate position of *techne* is further indicated in Longinus' criticism of "flawless accuracy" (*akribes*) (33.2) in chapters 33 and 36; *techne*, if perfected, results in "extreme accuracy," which still remains in the sphere of "likeness to man" and does not reach "the transcendence" ( $\tauὸ\ \nu\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\hat{\iota}\rho\sigma$ ) of the sublime (36.3).<sup>5</sup> The sublimity of Demosthenes, moreover, is not described as attainable by *techne*, but is rather "God-sent gifts (for it is not right to call them human)" (34.4); and similar language is used of Archilochus in 33.5: "that outburst (*ekbole*) of divine spirit (*pneuma*) which it is difficult to regulate by law." Those writers, therefore, who do not possess "great *physis*" cannot reach true sublimity by *techne* alone; thus by the *techne* of word-arrangement (*synthesis*) in 40.2, "many prose authors and poets, though not lofty by nature (*hypseloi physei*) attained the appearance of not being mean" (*tapeinoi*). *Techne*, therefore, provides no adequate solution to reaching *hypnos* in an age of cultural decline, but supplies merely a poor substitute, the *appearance* ( $\tauὸ\ .\ .\ δοκεῖν\ εἰναι$ ) of avoiding the opposite, *to tapeinon*.<sup>6</sup>

If, then, *hypnos* is dependent primarily on "great *physis*," how is it to be attained at a time when political and social conditions have produced a "world shortage" of such *physeis*, and what, therefore, is the point of all the rhetorical *praecepta* if the ultimate goal is beyond reach? Longinus presents as one solution placing *hypnos* above contemporary political and social factors and putting it in the wider, more universal setting of  $\tauὸ\ \alpha\iota\omega\sigma$ . Thus true sublimity is that "which pleases all and always" (7.4). In 36.2, moreover, Longinus says of the great writers of the past:

For this reason all eternity (*pas aion*) and posterity, which cannot be convicted of madness by envy (*phthonos*), brought and bestowed upon them the tokens of victory, and up to this very day it guards them intact and seems likely still to preserve them, "As long as water shall flow and tall trees bloom."

The "envy," here a product of the social and political conditions of a particular age, is transcended by the *eternal* aspects of the sublime.

The acceptance of eternity (*aion*) as a cosmic reference point for the sublime beyond the limits of the contemporary world appears especially

in chapter 14, where Longinus urges the writer to consider “how Homer would have said this same thing” and even more “how all eternity after me would listen to me who have written thus” (14.3). What underlies this theory of *aion* is the supposition of the intelligent and educated reader in every age (7.3) and, even more important, the absolute ideal of greatness, which is partly synonymous with the sublime and which endures in every age. Thus Longinus chides Herodotus in 4.7 for unbecoming diction, since “not even in the mouths of such characters [i.e., the drunken Persians of Hdt. 5.18] is it seemly to introduce disgraceful behavior on account of meanness of soul” (*μικροψυχία*); “meanness of soul” is antipodal to the spirit of eternity which demands its opposite, *megalopsychia*. There is, thus, a close interconnection between *hypbos* and *aion*; the greatness of soul implied in *hypbos* allows a work of literature to last through eternity, as Longinus says in 1.3: “And the greatest of poets and prose authors from no other source than the sublime won their honors and encompassed eternity for their fame.” Conversely, if a writer aims at “all eternity” in his work, he will immediately add to it an element of greatness, for the result of lacking this concern for posterity (*νόστεροφημία*) is the conception of works that are “incomplete,” “blind,” and prematurely born (14.3).<sup>7</sup> Thus even thinking about eternity produces something sublime in literary composition. What is sublime, in short, is eternal, and what aims at eternity becomes sublime.

The immediate implications of such a theory of eternity which transcends the bounds of any particular age are also present in Longinus, namely a set of absolute values in literature and the resultant return to established standards, or classicism. Thus the great writers of antiquity, especially Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes, are cited for examples of every kind of literary excellence; they are even called *ἥρωες* (4.4, 36.2) and *θεῖοι* (4.6; *ἰσόθεοι*, 35.2). Even some of the critical principles of Longinus go back to thoroughly classical ideals, like that of the Aristotelian “mean” in 5: “For our defects generally arise from the same source as our good points.” Longinus continually emphasizes the importance of the *kairos* for a certain figure, of knowing “where the limit must be set in each case” (38.1) and warns against *to ametron* (32.7). These ideals he shares with a critic as classical as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who similarly warns not to overstep the proper moment (*kairos*) and advises: “in everything one must seek the proper moment; for this is the best measure (*metron*) of the pleasant and the unpleasant” (*De Comp.* 12, 67–8). Longinus’ feeling for the necessity of control over emotion, of *techne* as a “help” and “good counsel” for *physis* and

*pathos*, has already been mentioned; it is another aspect of his classical sense of the mean.<sup>8</sup> Thus through his ideal of eternity he returns to canons of literary criticism which go far beyond the limitations of a particular political and social situation; he has established standards or *horoi* which every succeeding age can use as a means of measuring its own strengths and deficiencies with regard to the sublime, "entering the lists like a young aspirant against one already admired" (13.4).<sup>9</sup>

Some means, however, are necessary to transfer the greatness of the old classics into a new and vital form which can be utilized for producing *hypbos* in other ages; there is need, in other words, of a transition between the old and the new, for if the greatness of the ancients is fixed and immovably frozen in the past, those of the present are in no way helped to an attainment of the sublime. What could then result would be an attitude of despairing worship, of regarding the great classics as to be admired only from a distance and, indeed, as so far superior to contemporary efforts that they are completely unattainable and inimitable. Such a theory is, in fact, set forth in one writer of the early Empire, Velleius Paterculus:

Alit aemulatio ingenia, et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio imitationem accedit, naturaque quod summo studio petitum est ascendit in summum difficilisque in perfecto mora est, naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit. Et ut primo ad consequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur, ita ubi aut praeteriri aut aequari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit, et quod adsequi non potest, sequi desinit et velut occupatam relinquens materiam quaerit novam. (I. 17.6-7.)

The classicism of Longinus, however, is not thus fixed and does not at all imply the unattainability of the sublime of the great writers. Though they are "heroes" and "divine," there are still times when they "forget themselves" (4.4); Plato is once called only  $\tau\hat{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\oslash$ , and current criticisms of him are reproduced and partly admitted as valid, as in 32.7: "For (they criticize) not least even Plato as being carried away by a kind of Bacchic frenzy into violent and harsh metaphors and into allegorical bombast." The very fact that such criticism can be applied indicates that the great writers have not been relegated to a remote and lofty sphere to be passively worshipped. A living connection exists between them and the contemporary world, and what effects this connection is *mimesis*, the vehicle by which the sublime is transferred from one age to another.<sup>10</sup>

This dynamic aspect of Longinus' *mimesis* is illustrated by his description of it in 13.4: "For the matter is not theft, but the taking of an

impression (*ἀποτύπωσις*) as it were from noble characters [reading *ἡθῶν* with mss.] or figures or other works of art." *Mimesis* operates, therefore, by a sort of "impression" on the mind of the student; it is not a mere mechanical copying.<sup>11</sup> The basis of it is the emotional reaction of the reader to the sublime, a reaction implied in *apotyposis*. The process appears more clearly in 13.2:

For thus from the great natures (*megalophyias*) of the ancients effluences (*ἀπόρροιαι*), as it were, are borne into the souls (*psychas*) of those who imitate them, by which even those not very much subject to possession by Phoebus (*phoibastikoi*) breathe in inspiration (*ἐπιπνέομενοι*) and share in the ecstatic possession (*συνενθουσιῶσι*) of the others' greatness.

The *psychas* here and the last phrase are especially significant: the souls of those imitating are directly affected, so that they in part share and participate (*synenthousian*) in the sublimity of their model. The exalting influence of the great is similarly described in 14.1: "For the figures of those great men, coming upon us as we emulate them and, as it were, standing out conspicuously before us, raise up our souls somehow toward the patterns (*metra*) which we have imagined in our minds." Again the soul of the imitator is lifted (*ἀνοίσει*) in some almost mystical, mysterious fashion to the sublime.

This emphasis on the emotional reaction and the *psyche* of the student makes Longinus almost unique among classical rhetoricians. Dionysius (if indeed the *On Mimesis* is his) has a momentary glimpse of the idea: "Emulation is an activity of the soul that is set underway towards admiration of what seems to be noble."<sup>12</sup> In general, however, he regards *mimesis* as a *techne*, as consisting primarily in picking out the finest qualities of each of the great writers, just as the painter Zeuxis is said once to have picked out and synthesized into one painting the individual charms of a large number of maidens sent to him.<sup>13</sup> The student must "cull and pluck from their souls what is the better."<sup>14</sup> Dionysius even explicitly refers to *mimesis* as a *mixis* of excellences of individual writers united "by *techne* into a single, organic composition."<sup>15</sup> He thus emphasizes less than Longinus the reaction of the total man, and values chiefly the assimilation of the particular forte of each writer; thus the purpose of the *De priscis scriptoribus censura* (Reiske, 5.415ff.) is to set forth the better qualities (*to kraitton*) of each writer so that the student may know where to look for a certain *arete*.<sup>16</sup>

Quintilian also has an idea of imitating something common underlying all literature, but he does not identify this with anything approaching *hypnos*: *Habet tamen omnis eloquentia aliiquid commune: id imitemur*

*quod commune est* (10.2.22). In discussing *mimesis* itself, however, although he emphasizes the need for going beyond mere copying and reaching the spirit rather than the letter, he confines himself to the techniques and devices of the authors, to *techne* rather than *physis*:

Imitatio autem (nam saepius idem dicam) non sit tantum in verbis. Illuc intendenda mens, quantum fuerit illis viris decoris in rebus atque personis, quae dispositio, quam omnia, etiam quae delectationi videantur data, ad vietoram spectent: quid agatur prohoemio, quae ratio et quam varia narrandi, quae vis probandi ac refellendi, quanta in affectibus omnis generis movendis scientia, quamque laus ipsa popularis utilitatis gratia adsumpta, quae tum est pulcherrima cum sequitur, non cum arcessitur. (10.2.27)

Longinus, therefore, almost alone among rhetoricians, emphasizes the emotional reaction, the *psyche* in his theory of *mimesis*. In this way he offers a partial solution to the problem of cultural decline, for he refers *mimesis* to the inner emotions of the individual, to his personal sensibilities, and thus removes it from the external political and social world.<sup>17</sup>

That this *mimesis* actually can produce *hypbos* in the souls of the emulators is well illustrated in 13.2-3. Herodotus, Stesichorus, Archilochus, and, of course, Plato attained by imitation of Homer a *hypbos* of their own. The choice of these men is significant, for each is unquestionably a great classic and therefore *hypselos*. The language used of Plato especially suggests that by *mimesis* of Homer he received some of the poet's sublimity into his own soul: "From that Homeric stream he channeled off into himself numberless tributary branches." *Hypbos* is here regarded as an eternal "stream" from which the student, by *mimesis*, can "channel off" some sublimity for himself. The diction of other parts of this passage similarly implies that the sublimity of the model is actually attained; as "a road stretches forth to things sublime" and makes the imitator, like the Pythia, "impregnated with the divine power," so too the emulator (*zelon*) becomes filled with the divine afflatus of *hypbos* emanating from his model (13.2).

The sublime, therefore, through its principle of eternity, conquers the decline of any particular age, for it has a certain transcendence in time, which in turn rests on the human spirit and the eternal power of the sublime over this spirit. One aspect of this power of *hypbos* over the individual *psyche* has already been seen in the discussion of *mimesis*; the spiritual reaction to *hypbos*, however, extends even further and provides a still more important, though related, solution to the problem of the sublime in an age of cultural decline.

The distinguishing characteristic of true *hypbos* is its ability to inspire and react upon the soul of the reader: "Our soul is lifted up by what is truly sublime" (7.2). The writer is always described as "throwing" or "putting" something into our souls, as is Demosthenes in 16.2: "And at the same time letting down into the souls of his audience a medicine, as it were, and an antidote." Similarly, he says of Herodotus in 26.2: "Do you see, my friend, how he takes hold of your soul and leads it through the places...." Longinus therefore regards this relationship between writer and reader as a close personal communication of one soul with another. Thus he especially praises the figure of "the interchange of persons," where the reader is directly addressed: "And when you seem to address not all, but each one separately, you will render him simultaneously more excited (*empathesteros*) and more attentive and full of the contest itself" (26.3). The effectiveness of this figure for Longinus lies in its intensification of the personal communion between the author and his reader; and the praise which Longinus bestows upon it indicates his estimate of its importance.

What makes possible this connection, moreover, is the basic element in *hypbos* which underlies the experience of both the writer and the reader. The reaction is thus twofold: the writer himself is first affected by a strong *pathos* which transmits itself uncontrollably to his work, whence it recreates itself in the soul of the reader.<sup>18</sup> This process appears in the description of *hyperbata* in 22.1:

For just as those affected by anger or fear or indignation or jealousy or some other (passion) turn aside at times and putting forth one topic often leap on to another, inserting some things in the middle without reason (*alogos*) and then again wheel around to their original theme and in every way are drawn back and forth, hither and thither, by their vehemence, as if by an unsteady wind. . . .

The passion of the writer, reflected in expressions like "without reason" (*alogos*), "vehemence" (*agonias*), "unsteady wind" (*astatou pneumatos*), transmits itself to the reader through the "corresponding changes in the natural arrangement" (*ten . . . kata physin . . . taxin*). Similarly, of the vivid images of a passage in Euripides Longinus remarks:

Would you not say that the soul of the writer shares in the mounting of the chariot and in the dangers and in the rapid flight of the horses? For the soul could not have conceived such a vivid image unless it were borne along in equal course with those heavenly deeds. (15.4)

The unifying participation of the soul of the writer in the *pathos*, expressed by the large number of compounds with *syn-*, is reproduced in the vivid images (*phantasiai*), the reader's reaction to which Longinus himself indicates by his very quoting of the passage. This transmission of the *pathos* to the soul of the reader through the writer's own reation to it is especially well illustrated by Longinus' description of noble word-arrangement in 39.3: "It leads the *pathos* that is present to the speaker into the souls of those about him and brings the audience on each occasion to a participation (*metousian*) in it."

The manifold use of compounds with *syn-* throughout Longinus thus takes on a new significance. Not only is the reader brought to a *metousian* of the writer's *pathos*, but the writer himself has had to identify himself with and share in the dangers (*sygkindynein*) of the *pathos* in order to be able to reach the soul of the reader. What basically makes this communication possible, therefore, is the dynamic quality of *pathos* and *hypbos* which affects so strongly both the writer and the reader. The two men, then, are bound together by a common reaction to the sublime. Since this sublimity, moreover, as has been shown, passes personally from soul to soul, it is, as in the case of *mimesis*, beyond the factors of the external world which are causing the cultural decline; it moves along the inward "canals" (*οχετούς*) of the mind and therefore need make no contact with the contemporary outside world. It allows the individual, temporarily isolated from his political and social milieu, to make the personal rediscovery of the lofty experiences in the literary work; and this reaction, precisely because it is so personal, can take place in any age.

Another aspect of the spiritual transcendence of *hypbos* over eontemporary problems of cultural decline is the irrational, whieh Longinus describes in 20.2 as "the transport and movement of the soul" (*phora* and *sykinesis*). *Hypbos* is constantly associated with *ekstasis*, *dynasteia*, *bia amachos* (1.4). He describes lofty word-arrangement as "overcoming our minds in every way" (39.3), and ehides some authors who "often seem to themselves to be divinely inspired, but are not really in a Bacchic phrensy" (*bakcheuein*) (3.2). The truest forms of *hypbos*, moreover, seem to have to conquer and overpower reason. Thus he emphasizes as especially effective what is *para doxan* (24.2) in connection with the changes in number or *παραλόγως* (22.4) with regard to Demosthenes. Numerous examples also occur of "the marvelous" (*to thaumaston*), as in 1.4, "the marvelous always conquers," where Longinus speaks directly of *hypbos* as "conquering" the rational part of the mind. Similarly, in 36.1, it is only "what is great" (*to mega*) not "what

is faultless" which "is wondered at" (*thaumazetai*). The expression used of "lofty word-order" in 39.2, "a marvelous spell" (*thaumaston thelgetron*), again suggests an almost supernatural overpowering of the rational faculty. Thus too *ekplexis* is one of Longinus' favorite words to describe the sublime.<sup>19</sup>

This direct conquest of *hypbos* over reason is especially prominent in Longinus' treatment of the *schemata*. Thus in 15.11 he describes the result of effective images (*phantasiai*) as follows:

By nature somehow in all matters we always heed what is stronger (*to kraitton*) whence we are dragged away from purely logical exposition (*to apodeiktikon*) to what is astounding (*ekplektikon*) by its imagery, in which the merely factual (*pragmatikon*) is outdazzled and left concealed.

The rational aspect of the mind, represented by *to apodeiktikon* and *to pragmatikon*, the concern for *factual* objectivity, is violently overcome ("dragged away") and "dazzled" (*perilampomenon*). The latter image he uses again at the end of 17.2, where he compares the effect of a sublime figure to the light in a painting which blots out the shadow. This necessity to overcome the rational faculty is also what underlies his continual precept that to every rhetorical *schema*, *hypbos* must be present as "an antidote and wondrous (*thaumaste*) ally, as it were, against the suspicion of rhetorical artifice" (*schematizein*) (17.2). The *hypbos*, by dazzling the ratiocinative powers, prevents them from seeing the *techne* behind the various figures, since "perfection" (*to teleion*) occurs when the *techne* appears *physikon* (22.1, 36.4); there is an element of "suspicion" attached to *techne* which must be avoided. Exactly how the sublime achieves this "deception" through the overpowering of the rational is well illustrated in 32.4, where Longinus treats the problem of the multiplicity of metaphors:

(*Hypbos*) does not allow the listener leisure for criticism (*έλεγχον*) of the multiplicity (of metaphors) because of his sharing in the divine inspiration (*synenthousian*) with the speaker.

The reader is not given a chance, not allowed time (*scholazein*) to employ his critical faculty (*elegchon*) which the *hypbos* of the metaphors has completely destroyed by compelling it to "share in the divine inspiration." This same principle is the basis for his discussion of our reaction to the Nile or to Aetna in 35.5:

What is useful or even necessary is always commonplace to men, but nevertheless what is astounding (*to paradoxon*) is admired and marvelled at (*thaumaston*).

The reasoning powers, which should recognize the primacy of "the useful" and "the necessary," are so completely carried away by the sublime, whether in literature or in nature, that *to paradoxon* alone is admired. The same forces appear in Longinus' treatment of the relation between *hypbos* and persuasion (*peitho*). At the very beginning of the work he states that "extraordinary power of language (*ta hyperphya*) leads the audience not to persuasion, but rather to rapture (*ekstasin*)" (1.4). A sublime image, moreover, "does not merely persuade the hearer, but even enslaves him" (15.9); and Hyperides is commended because "he has transcended the limits of persuasion" (15.10).

The treatment of *peitho* shows the most immediate connection of the irrational with the problem of cultural decline, since *peitho*, like the *phthonos* of 36.2 mentioned above, is closely related to the particular "taste" and preferences of an age, which, in turn, are conditioned by such social and political factors as are, for Longinus, causing a general decay. Such "taste," for example, is reflected in the controversy between "Asianism" and "Atticism" and in the arguments of Tacitus' *Dialogus*, where the battle of the "ancients" and "moderns" illustrates how easily literary preferences change. The rough and "austere" style of the Gracchi gave way to the flowing prose of Cicero and that, in its turn, to the even more "refined" style of Tacitus' contemporaries.<sup>20</sup> Longinus is seeking for something more enduring, more independent of such transient and whimsical forces. The irrational provides such a solution; it is spontaneous, uninhibited, and therefore least affected by the external social and political factors. Here also enters the element of *to phoberon*, "the terrible," which is frequently associated with *hypbos*.<sup>21</sup> Fear is perhaps the most spontaneous of all emotions; it affects every individual in every age, regardless of outside conditions. Thus, as has been seen above, Longinus makes his *hypbos* appeal as directly as possible to the individual as a personal experience. He chooses as his vehicle for the sublime that aspect of the human mind which is most personal and most free from outside interference. He therefore adds to *hypbos*, along with its intense individualism of experience, a universality based on a common spontaneity of the human spirit, which again transcends the immediate cultural limits of any one age.

This spiritual aspect of *hypbos* contains another element which further helps it to transcend the contemporary decline, namely the divine. Through its association with *to theion*, *hypbos* goes beyond ordinary human limitations and therefore also temporal limitations: "For in the case of statues is sought that which is like to men, but in literature (*logos*) that which transcends . . . the human" (36.3). *Logos*,

therefore, or "literature," which for Longinus, of course, means sublime literature, is in a category above the human. It is on this same basis that he distinguishes what contains mere technical perfection from what is sublime:

Writers of such magnitude, though all far removed from flawlessness, are, nevertheless, all above what is mortal; and whereas other things prove ( $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon i$ ) their users to be men, the sublime raises them near the intellectual greatness of god (*megalophrōsynes theou*). (36.1)

The notion of the divine here combines with his ideas of *techne* and *physis* and of the primary importance of *physis* over the former. In thus relegating *techne* to the sphere of the human ("other things prove their users men"), he again asserts the importance of the irrational and spontaneous reaction of the spirit to *hypbos* by associating the irrational with what is divine and "above the mortal";<sup>22</sup> this element is, as it were, sanctioned and made the more significant aspect of human nature. By being connected with divinity, the irrational appears as more basic and enduring, as the unchanging vital link between the *psychai* from one age to another; the gap between the *hypbos* of Homer and Longinus' contemporaries seems to be less when the eternity of the gods is the *metron*. *Techne*, however, the rational part of the human mind, remains in the merely human sphere; not only can it not rise to *ta akra* of true sublimity, but also it cannot pass beyond the strict limits of its own age, since it must work within and be most strongly influenced by social and political forces of the time. *Physis*, on the other hand, that is *megale physis* or *megalophrōsyne*, through its connection with the divine receives an even broader basis of universality. The element of the irrational is strengthened and given increased validity by means of the divine inspiration or *pneūma*.<sup>23</sup> Further universality in time is added through the connotations of eternity which *to theion* contains, so that the *aion* theory is also reinforced. *Hypbos*, therefore, is beyond the decline of a particular age because of the basic spontaneity in the human spirit to which it appeals and because of its identity with what is divine and thus everlasting.<sup>24</sup>

If Longinus regards the great writers as gods themselves, of course the element of the eternal and divine is more directly introduced. Yet Longinus' attitude is somewhat ambivalent; the  $\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma$  is usually qualified by a  $\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ , etc. Occasionally, however, he employs no such "softener" (32.3). Thus in 33.5 he says of Archilochus: "that outburst of divine *pneuma*"; here, however, the *pneuma* is called divine, not the poet. Where the great writers themselves are called

*theioi* or *isotheoi* or *heroes* (e.g., 4.4, 35.2), the epithet seems metaphorical and only a synonym for *hypselos*. This usage appears especially clearly from 4.6, where Longinus, in describing a "frigid" slip of Plato, calls him ὁ τἀλλα θεῖος, so that here at least *theios* has become a mere substitute for *hypselos*; and Longinus implies little more actual divinity than does Cicero when he calls Plato *quasi quendam deum philosophorum* (*N.D.* 2.12.32). The epithets of divinity associated with *hypnos*, therefore, are primarily figurative; the great authors cannot claim the direct eternity of being gods. The association, however, of *hypnos* and *to theion* in Longinus' mind remains and does not invalidate the more indirect basis for the transcendence of *hypnos* over cultural decline.

Longinus' theory that *aion* and the spiritual reaction to *hypnos* avert cultural decline, however, is actually not adequate if the corruptive forces of the age penetrate deeply enough. The endurance of *hypnos* throughout eternity (*aion*) depends, as has been pointed out above, on its transmission from the *psyche* of the writer to that of the reader; this transmission, in turn, employs chiefly the irrational part of the soul, that which is most independent of external influences. If, however, the corruption of the age extends far enough so that even this element of the *psyche* is affected, there can be little hope for *hypnos*. Then the ability to react to the sublime, which is the basis for the theory of *mimesis* and therefore for the new creation of sublimity in each age, is also destroyed. Longinus seems to imply that the corruptive influences of his time have in fact penetrated far enough to pervert the whole *psyche*, even the faculty of spontaneous emotional reaction to the sublime:

Do we then think that in such an infectious corruption of life there is still left any free and unbiased judge of what is great and endures for eternity — or rather that we have all been bribed by the desire for gain ( $\tauῆς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῦ ἐπιθυμίας$ )? (44.9)

The image of "judging" and "bribing" used throughout this paragraph (44.9) is significant, for just as a judge may be influenced in his legal decision by bribery, so our reaction too is influenced adversely and undermined by the materialism of the age, "the desire for gain." We can no longer be an "unbiased and free judge" of sublimity when our entire *psyche* has been permeated by the general decline of the age.

Such a materialistic view, however, is inconsistent with the usual idealism of Longinus. He would not agree, for example, that the entire personality of man is a product of the material forces about him. Such a view would rob his *hypnos* of its eternity and make the practical technical precepts which form so large a part of the treatise useless. His

fuller solution to the problem of *hypbos* in an age of cultural decline has already partly appeared in the association of *hypbos* with *to theion*, that is, in removing the sublime to a level outside and beyond the human world to undeniably universal and eternal forces, the divine.

In addition to the relation between *hypbos* and the divine, there is also a connection between man and *to theion*; thus, because of a certain element in human nature which, as will appear, is based ultimately on *to theion*, man is attracted to *to kraitton* "by nature (*physei*) somehow" (15.11).<sup>25</sup> Similarly, in 17.2 Longinus describes our reaction to *hypbos* as occurring "because of a kind of natural kinship" (*syngeneia*); and in 35.4 he says that "led on naturally (*physikos*) somehow, by Zeus, we wonder not at the small streams, even if they are transparent and useful, but at the Nile and Ister or the Rhine." Our reaction to the "sublime harmony" of music is both likened and opposed to a sublime order of words in these terms: "And yet these are mere semblances and spurious imitations of persuasion, not the genuine (*gnesia*) activities of human nature" (39.3). The association of human nature with the divine appears also from the somewhat syllogistic expression in 36.3: "In the case of the works of *nature* it is greatness (*megethos*) which is wondered at, and by nature man is a being endowed with speech (*logikon*) . . . and in speech (*logon*) what is sought is that which transcends, as I said, the human." Human nature, in other words, is related to *to logikon*, which in turn is associated with "what transcends the human" or *to theion*; therefore human nature is related to *to theion* or, in other words, has the power of transcending itself through *logos*, speech, thought, and literature.<sup>26</sup>

What underlies the human ability to react to *hypbos*, therefore, is the divine principle governing the universe, the cosmic *Physis*. The *locus classicus* illustrating this universal force as the basis for the greatness of human nature is 35.2:

Nature (*Physis*) appointed us, mankind, to be no mean nor ignoble creature, but led us into life and the whole universe as if into some great assemblage, to be, as it were, spectators (*theatas*) of all her creation and most zealous competitors therein, and breathed at once into our souls an unconquerable love of what is forever great and, in comparison to us, more divine.

In order that man might be a worthy *theates* of the marvels of nature, she has had to create him as himself great, "no base or ignoble creature," so that his soul reacts always to "everything great" (*megalon*). Longinus has introduced a kind of divine humanism; he exalts the greatness of

the human spirit and its consequent ability to react to what is great by basing this spirit on a divine creatrix. He goes on to magnify the nobility of man's nature in 35.3:

Therefore for the contemplation and thought within the scope of man not even the whole cosmos (*sympas kosmos*) suffices, but his conceptions often pass beyond the limits which confine him; and if one should scan life about in a circle (and see) how much in everything the extraordinary, the great, and the noble have the larger part, he will soon know for what we have been born.

Thus if man's spirit is great enough to transcend the ordinary limits of "the whole cosmos," how can it possibly be confined by the corruptive forces of any particular age? Through its basis in the great cosmic Nature, the sublimity of the human spirit can overcome all barriers of time and space. The external world itself, moreover, is regarded as great and noble, and as providing material on which man can exercise his own nobility. He and his ability to react to the sublime are given a secure place in the world; *hypnos* takes on new significance as fulfilling the design of cosmic Nature, who has explicitly created man that she might have a "worthy spectator" of her greatness, that her processes might be completed and reach their *telos* by being received and appreciated by an agent himself "great" (*megas*) and thus worthy. The sublime and man's reaction to it, then, become primary features in the very teleology of the cosmos.<sup>27</sup>

This cosmic Nature Longinus has, as it were, created in his own image; *Physis* in this sense becomes almost synonymous with *to mega*. It includes the great phenomena of the world, like the Nile, the Ister, Ocean, or Aetna (35.4). Just as Longinus himself is always impressed with what is great or lofty, he has made his *Physis* identical with this greatness of the cosmos, breathing her own *megethos* into the spirit of man.

The innate nobility which man thus receives provides him with an element in his own soul which is *hypselon*. He has a sublimity of his own which can therefore react the more easily to all forms of sublimity in literature and in the external world. The "natural kinship" (*physike synergeneia*) of man with the sublime (17.2; *physike* here in a less lofty sense) thus has a far more important and enduring significance than that of a mere metaphor or rhetorical platitude. It has its *raison d'être* in the very structure of the cosmos.<sup>28</sup>

This greatness of the human soul can be seen permeating even the technical rhetorical elements of the treatise; it underlies the psychology

of the *schemata*. Longinus' continual advice for the use of these figures is that their artificiality must be concealed by sufficient *pathos*. The psychological basis for this precept is that if the *schemata* are too evident, the reader's sense of greatness, his innate *hypbos*, is offended, as in 17.1:

For (the reader) becomes angry at once if, like a foolish boy, he is tricked with clever little figures by a rhetorical craftsman, and construing the deception as if scorn of himself (*kataphronesis heautou*) sometimes he rejects the whole in a rage, and even if he controls his anger, he is disposed entirely against the persuasiveness of the work.

This "scorn" of the reader which too obvious *schemata* produce is the direct opposite of *hypbos* or *to mega*, as appears from its use in 7.1: "there exists nothing great (*mega*) which it is great to scorn" (*kataphronein*), and in 3.1, where Aeschylus' bombastic lines "slip back gradually from the terrible (*to phoberon*) towards the contemptible" (*eukataphroneton*). Thus the natural sublimity which the human soul has from cosmic Nature is a vital and important force even in the technical aspects of Longinus' literary criticism.

The answer which this "cosmic Nature" offers for the problem of cultural decline is clear and effective. Not only can man through his innate sublimity transcend the limits of the material world (35.3), but the cosmic *Physis* itself cannot let *hypbos* die out, since she needs *theatas* of her wonders; and, because she is eternal and omnipotent, she has the power to keep *hypbos* alive in every age. Thus through this Nature which pervades the universe man at any period can feel the sublimity of *παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ μεγάλου*. Longinus' final answer thus consists in removing the basis of *hypbos* from the ordinary world of men and bringing it into universal, cosmic, and teleological significance.<sup>29</sup>

The importance of man's exercising his *syngeneia* with the cosmos and transcending the narrow limits of self by striving after the *hypbos* on which is based the meaning of the world appears also, in a rather negative way, in Longinus' treatment of the "passions (*pathe*) that are removed from sublimity" in 8.2, the pity, fear, grief which separate man from the cosmos by causing him to retire into the realm of self, of limited and personal considerations. The effect of one of these emotions, fear (here without the nobler connotation of "awe" contained in *to phoberon*, compare above) in hindering the free association with the cosmos is demonstrated in 14.3:

If one fears to utter anything that will outlast his own life and time, the conceptions of his soul must be incomplete and blind and, as it were,

stunted, since they were not all brought to proper completion with regard to lasting fame among posterity.

Such fear of self-transcendence in the eternal results in *to tapeinon* (these *pathē* are themselves called *tapeina* in 8.2), which is the exact opposite of *hypbos*.<sup>30</sup> It is significant too that in Longinus' analysis the principal cause of cultural decline and of the "shortage" of sublimity is greed and self-indulgence, precisely those impulses which turn man toward his own narrowly circumscribed selfish desires, away from the rejection of self which occurs in union with the cosmic *hypbos*.<sup>31</sup>

Many of the elements in Longinus' answer to the problem of cultural decline appear in his eclecticism, in the extent to which he has absorbed, consciously or not, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic ideas, and synthesized them for his own "philosophy" of rhetoric, although many of these ideas must have already become common property. Echoes of Plato appear throughout the treatise and are especially frequent in the last chapter, as appears from the numerous *testimonia* from Plato cited in the edition by Jahn-Vahlen and in Weiske's commentary.<sup>32</sup> The reason lies in the general idealism of Longinus, in which he follows in the steps of his "hero" Plato; both attack vehemently the materialism of the world. In this connection, it is interesting that the passage from the *Republic* (586 a), cited by Longinus in 13.1, which criticizes this materialism, is re-echoed in chapter 44. Thus Plato's "but towards the truth they never glanced upwards" (*aneblepsan*) appears in the beginning of 44.8 as: "for this must necessarily happen and men no longer glance upwards" (*anablepein*).<sup>33</sup> Similarly Plato's *πλεονεξία* in the passage quoted in 13.1 reappears in *τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν* at the end of 44.9 and, possibly, if Ruhnken's emendation *πλεονεξίαν* is right, in 44.7.<sup>34</sup> Many of the ideas themselves, moreover, seem taken almost directly from Plato — for example, the whole criticism of sacrificing the *hypbos* of the soul for material goods at the end of 44.8: "For the greatness of the soul (*ta psychika megethe*) must necessarily waste away and wither and become contemptible when they wonder at the mortal parts of themselves and neglect the exaltation of the immortal."

The significance of the Platonism of Longinus for the problem of cultural decline is twofold. First, it reinforces Longinus' idea of the eternity and immortality of *hypbos* through the associations of the Platonic absolutes and idealism (compare *ta athanata* in the passage just quoted). Second, it increases the emphasis on the individual himself as being able to overcome the *pleonexia* around him, since Longinus' idealism asserts the power of the individual *psyche* over its material surroundings. Thus in 44.7, Longinus warns that one will establish

“absolute masters” (*despotas*) over his soul, “if any one *allows* (έάση) these offspring of wealth to come to maturity” (and compare παραδέχεσθαι in 44.7), implying that the choice of “allowing” the *pleonexia* to enter lies with the individual.<sup>35</sup>

The Aristotelianism of Longinus appears not only in his borrowing of the *mesotes* (5.1, etc.) but in his diction, especially in his use of the concepts of *telos* and *physis*. By means of these ideas, Longinus helps give the sublime a more secure place in human existence, for in 36.5 he uses the expression φύσει λογικὸν ὁ ἀνθρωπός, and in 39.3 he speaks of “language that is innate (*emphyton*) in man.” Thus literature and the sublime are made to seem a more integral and “natural” part of human life. The idea of *telos* is similarly employed, as in 15.2: “of the poetic image, the end (*telos*) is *ekplexis*”; the irrational side of the human *psyche* is again emphasized and made the proper “end” for poetry.<sup>36</sup>

Longinus seems also to have absorbed Stoic elements, at least in his version of the *pneuma* theory and in the idea of Nature and of the human body as a *teleion systema*, illustrating the rationality and benevolence of the divine principle. The whole passage about *Physis* as the *demiourgos* in 43.5 may be compared with Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Book II: *Atque ut in aedificiis architecti avertunt ab oculis naribusque dominorum ea quae profluentia necessario taetri essent aliquid habitura, sic natura res similis procul amandavit a sensibus* (56.141). Longinus shares this idea of nature as rational and benevolent and describes her in 2.2 as “acting not in any random way (εἰκαῖον) nor entirely without method” (*amethodon*). The notion in 35 of nature as creating man to be the *theates* of her wonders is also Stoic and may again be paralleled from the second book of the *De Natura Deorum* (e.g., 14.37, 53.133). Thus since nature is rational, benevolent, and omnipotent, having created the world for man she will continue to consult for his benefit and contrive what is best for him. Moreover, the rationality of nature also gives literature (*logos*) a place in the world; and Longinus, as has been pointed out above, has made *hypnos* and *megethos* important in this cosmic nature. By using and adding to Stoic ideas, therefore, he has reinforced his concept of the eternity and universality of the sublime. The world is benevolent, man’s place and that of the sublime are secure, so that cultural decline and the loss of sublimity are not really possible as long as the Longinian-Stoic Nature continues as the guiding and permeating force in the cosmos.

To this eternal Nature may be traced back all the elements in *hypnos* which offer an answer to the problem of cultural decline. The *aion* theory, as has already been seen, rests ultimately on the power of the

sublime over the human spirit, by means of which *mimesis* could take place so that the *hypbos* of one age could be recreated in another. Yet all those elements in the human spirit which transcend the corruptive forces of a particular time — as seen in the individual communication between the *psychai* of the writer and reader, the relation of the irrational to the sublime, the connection between the divine and the sublime — receive their final validity from cosmic *Physis*. It is this *Physis* which itself has created this spirit in man and has established it as eternal and unchanging in every age, and which has also made man's reaction to the sublime an important part of his own existence and of the fulfillment of the *telos* of the cosmos. Thus Longinus restates the possibility for sublimity from two points of view. The individual who wishes to cultivate this eternal power of his spirit, nourished already by a force far above mere contemporary conditions, can continue to feel and react to the sublimity of previous ages. And the artist, isolated in the present age because of the corrupt taste, can be inspired by the *hypbos* of his sublime predecessors and can hope for an audience not only from those of his own age who have not let their souls be perverted by materialism but especially from later ages, when the eternal power of the sublime again flashes forth, since it can be only temporarily obscured, never entirely extinguished. *Hypsos* is, in fact, attainable by the individual who wishes to give free rein to the nobler part of his spirit and who "looks up" to *ta athanata* (44.8).

Longinus, then, is distinguished among the rhetoricians of his day by his ability to see beyond mere technical problems and out into the entire cosmos. He sees cosmic principles in his *hypbos* and has indeed a universal teleology for rhetoric and literature itself. Though he does not hesitate to give technical rhetorical instruction, he separates himself from the ordinary "professional rhetorician" of his time: "the definition of the professional rhetoricians (*technographoi*) does not satisfy me" (12.1). He differs too from Tacitus who, in his *Dialogus*, is content with mere political causes for the cultural decline; Longinus visualizes the decline itself in cosmic terms, as a *κοσμικὴ ἀφορία* (44.1).

In this context, to return to the problem stated at the opening of this paper, can be understood the beginning of chapter 44, where Longinus devotes so much attention to the political causes. To accept such material and transitory causes as being able to affect something as lofty and eternal as the sublime is repugnant to his idealism. It is entirely incompatible with, and destructive of, his whole attitude toward the sublime and his philosophy of literature. Such a limited way of thinking would itself be for Longinus an admission of cultural

decline and a tacit statement of the unattainability of *hypnos* by its very confinement to the particular material aspects of a particular age and by its inability to reach beyond. The very fact, moreover, that these political views are so destructive to idealistic theories, since they imply that man is almost wholly bound to his material circumstances, indicates that Longinus cannot afford to ignore them. Hence the sudden change to the dialogue form is significant. Longinus wishes to make clear that these politically deterministic views of the loss of sublimity are not his; while not absolutely denying their validity, he seeks much deeper causes that rest ultimately on the innate dignity of the human soul and its kinship with the greatness and eternity of the cosmos. This greatness, he points out, is only temporarily obscured, but can always shine forth whenever men give it the opportunity, precisely because it is not dependent on or conditioned by these limited political conditions, but akin to cosmic *Physis*, eternity, and divinity. The beginning of chapter 44 may even represent a certain struggle within the mind of Longinus himself. He is aware of the wide acceptance of the political causes, yet feels that he himself cannot accept them without denying to the sublime its all-important qualities of timelessness and universality (7.4).

The problem of cultural decline in the final chapter, therefore, stands in the closest relation to Longinus' most cherished themes; and it is natural that after working out the theoretical and technical implications of his theory of the sublime in the major part of the treatise, he should turn at the end to its more immediate political and social implications. His answer to the political objections against sublimity in his age is latent in the whole preceding argument of the work and shows its author to be a remarkable and perhaps isolated figure in the cultural context of his age and, indeed, as worthy to rank with the *heroes* and *theioi* whom he so greatly admires.

#### NOTES

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Translations of passages from the *De Sublimitate* have often been based upon the versions by W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge, 1907) and by Arthur O. Prickard (Oxford, 1906), with modifications where such seemed appropriate.

1. For the apparent difficulty of the connection of chapter 44 with the rest of the work, see Ernst Hefermehl, "Menekrates von Nysa und die Schrift vom Erhabenen," *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. 61 (1906) 285, who finds in the concluding chapter a violation of the unity of the work: "Werden wir jene Abschweifung vom Standpunkt der künstlerischen Einheit nicht billigen." He emphasizes also the change to the dialogue form as a further indication of this violation.

2. For a collection of some of these passages on the topic of the *convicium saeculi*, see the *testimonia ad loc.* in the Jahn-Vahlen edition (Bonn, 1887) and Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* 2.1 (Munich, Ed. 6, 1920) 477 n. 1; for a possible common source in Posidonius, see also Aulitzky, "Pseudo-Longinos," *RE* 26 (1927) 1421.

3. G. Ammon in the *Berliner Philologischen Wochenschrift* 34 (1914) 712 oversimplifies the problem of the conflict between *techne* and *physis* when he says of the author of the treatise: "Er sucht das Erhabene nicht in der Befolgung der ausgeklügelten Rhetorenregeln, obwohl er selbst zu den immer noch aktuellen Fragen der Kompositionstheorie in einem Werke Stelle genommen hat wie Cäcilius zu den *schemata* sondern in dem adlen Affekt und in der cr-habenen Gesinnung."

4. For a discussion of the implications of *anatrephein* with regard to the terminology of the *De Sublim.* and its relations to the term *tithenos* ("nurse") in 44.2, see Rudolf Weber, *Die Begriffe megethos und hypsos in der Schrift vom Erhabenen* (Diss. Marburg, 1935) 13-14.

5. The significance of Longinus as a "technical" rhetorician should, of course, not be entirely overlooked. Although he inclines toward *physis*, he still devotes a considerable section of his book to such technical matters as the *schemata*. Hefermehl (above, n. 1) even tries to connect Longinus with the schools of Homeric philology by means of the reference of Ammonius (13.3) and parallels with the scholia on Homer. This argument receives incidental support from Eduard Stemplinger's study of the *pathe*-doctrine in Homeric and other scholia, "Mimesis im philosophischen und rhetorischen Sinne," *Neue Jahrbücher für das classischen Altertum* 31 (1913) 35f. Fritz Wehrli, "Der erhabene und der schlichte Stil in der poetisch-rhetorischen Theorie der Antike," *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll* (Basel, Schwabe & Co., 1946) 23, thinks that this combination of the purely technical with a more inspirational approach in rhetoric could also derive from Democritus, "den sein Glaube an dichterische Begabung nicht hinderte, sich auch mit Einzelproblemen der sprachlichen Form zu beschäftigen," as the preserved titles of some of Democritus' works seem to indicate, e.g., 68 B20a in Diels-Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (ed. 6, 1951-2) vol. 2.

6. It is interesting to compare the views of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on *physis* and *techne*. In one of the fragments of the *On Mimesis* he grants that "of the power (of speaking) the most important part is in *physis*, which we have not in our power to make such as we deem fit" (*Opuscula*, ed. Usener, Teubner, 2.1 p. 202). His sympathies, however, are much more with *techne*, as in the *De Comp.* 25.199ff., where he emphasizes the elaborateness and care of Demosthenes in his sentence rhythm, or at the end of the work, with his insistence on "practice and exercise" in 26.224 and on "what is prepared and artistic" (*entechnon*) in 26.215. The nature of the *De Comp.* must also be considered in connection with this attitude, as it was written for a young student who perhaps needed to be impressed with the necessity and value of care and work. Longinus' preference for *physis* over *techne* may be a deliberate reaction against the Callimachean doctrine of flawless purity. Hence his metaphor of a river in 35.4 seems directed at Callimachus' famous dictum that large streams (like long poems) are turgid and muddy (*Hymn Apol.* 108ff.); and Longinus' praise of Archilochus, despite the unruliness of his verse (13.3, 33.5) is directly opposed to Callimachus'

censure of him as  $\mu\epsilon\thetaυπλήξ$  (frag. 544, Pfeiffer). See Wehrli (above, n. 5) pp. 14–15, 30–32.

7. This ideal of the *aion* has perhaps a parallel in Dionysius' comment on Demosthenes (*De Comp.* 25.208): "composing eternal (*aionia*) works and giving himself under examination to envy and time (*phthono kai chrono*) which test all things." Here *chronos* is again trusted as a suitable critic of what is great. Incidentally, the passage in Longinus cited in the text (36.2) might be used as further support to retain in the text of this passage of Dionysius the  $\phiθόνω$  which Usener excludes; Roberts' edition of the *De Comp.* (London, Macmillan, 1910) retains it, and only E, the ms. of the epitome, omits it.

8. In his emphasis on control and the mean, Longinus approaches another rhetorician of some classical tendencies, Quintilian, who similarly ridicules those who neglect the *euboulia* of *techne*. See *Inst.* 2.11.3–4: *Igitur impetu dicere se et viribus uti gloriantur: neque enim opus esse probatione aut dispositione in rebus fictis, sed cuius rei gratia plenum sit auditorium, sententiis grandibus, quarum optima quaeque a periculo petatur. Quin etiam in cogitando nulla ratione adhibita aut tectum intuentes magnum aliquid, quod ultro se offerat, pluribus saepe diebus exspectant.*

9. It is to be noted that in his own prose style Longinus is not thoroughly consistent with his ideal of an absolute classicism, at least from the point of view of the later atticizing sophists. To Lucian, for example, the pure Attic style of Plato represents in part the means of transcending temporal and cultural relativity so far as taste in expression is concerned. The intensity and immediacy, however, which are evident on nearly every page of the *De Sublim.*, lead its author to the consideration primarily of the effect of the work on his own age, namely on his contemporary audience, who "die ungemischte Atthis nicht verstanden hätte" (Christ-Schmid-Stählin [above, n. 2] 463). This is the immediate, but not fully logically consistent, application of the ideal of "that which pleases all and through all time" in 7.4.

10. For the growing importance of *mimesis* in the first century B.C., and for the formulation of "einer Theorie der *mimesis*," see Christ-Schmid-Stählin (above, n. 2) 462 and n. 6, and 477, n. 5 of Sidon, who defined *grammatike* as a *theoria mimeseos*. Posidonius and the Rhodian school in general are also important for a renewed emphasis on *mimesis*. See *RE* 26, 1421 and W. W. Jaeger, *Nemesios von Emesa* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1914) 24f., on their return to the Platonic style. Weber (above, n. 4) 19ff. discusses *mimesis* as the means of the transference of the "reinen Existenz" of the physical elements of *hypnos* to its concrete presence in words; this is effected through the *hyperphya* of the great writers of the past.

11. For the idea of *mimesis* as more than a mere mechanical copying, see Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.2.18 and Dionysius, *On Mimesis* 2.1 p. 202 (Usener). The precept seems, therefore, to have been a well-established rhetorical *topos*.

12. Dionysius (?), *On Mimesis* in ed. Usener 2.1 p. 200. The terminology of this passage shows strong Aristotelian coloring. For other Aristotelian influences, especially of the *Poetics* in the rhetorical and also the historical works of Dionysius, see Paul Scheller, *De Hellenistica Historiae Conscribendae Arte* (Diss. Leipzig, 1911) 42–3.

13. Usener 2.1 p. 203.

14. *Ibid.* p. 204.

15. *Ibid.* p. 214.

16. *Ibid.* pp. 202ff.

17. Posidonius may here be an important source for the wider meaning of *mimesis* and its association with the broader cosmic phenomena. He defined *poiesis* as "including imitation of things divine and human." See Stemplinger (above, n. 5) 26.

18. This process of the mutual partaking of the *pathos* is an important part of the *pathologia* in the rhetorical theory of mimesis and appears, for instance, in Plato, *Ion* 535 b-e, Aristotle *Rhet.* 3.7.4: "The audience always shares in the *pathos* of the one who speaks with passion (*pathetikos*) even if he says nothing," and in Horace *A.P.* 101-2: "Si vis me flere, dolendum est/ primum ipsi tibi," and *Ep.* 2.1.210-13. See also Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.189 and Quintilian, *Inst.* 6.2.26, cited by Stemplinger (above, n. 5) 34 nn. 3, 6. Wehrli (above, n. 5) traces the concept of the participation of the audience in the *mania* of the poet to Democritus and Gorgias and conjectures that Gorgias used for his rhetorical theory (where the participation of the audience would be especially important) the psychological system and *pneuma* theory of Democritus (pp. 13-14). It is unfortunate that we do not know more about Democritus' psychology and whatever theories he might have formulated about the *receptive* aspect of artistic creation, the transmission of the divine *pneuma* from the poet to his hearers.

19. For *ekplexis*, see *De Sublim.* 1.4, 12.5, 15.2, 22.4, 35.4, etc. *Ekplexis* in rhetorical theory again seems to go back to the late fifth century. See Aristoph., *Frogs* 837ff., Plato, *Ion* 535 b, Aristotle, *Poetics* 1454 a4, and, generally, Wehrli (above, n. 5) 13-14. For the controversy in Hellenistic historiography on the place of *ekplexis* in history, see Polyb. 2.56.11 and Scheller (above, n. 12) 57-71.

20. The conflict over the question, "Cicero or the contemporary rhetoricians?" was, of course, only part of the broader Asianism-Atticism controversy which becomes especially prominent from the early first century A.D. on. Quintilian and the *Dialogus* are full of the problem; the former especially criticizes the contemporary effeminacy of style. For an earlier opinion, see Seneca Rhetor's strictures on an orator of his time, Cestius: *Hi non tantum disertissimis viris quos paulo ante retuli Cestium suum praferunt, sed etiam Ciceroni praferrent, nisi lapides timerent. Quo tamen uno modo possunt praferunt: huius enim declamationes ediscunt, illius orationes non legunt nisi eas quibus Cestius rescripsit.* (*Controversiae* 3 *praef.* 15.)

21. For the association of *to phoberon* with *hypnos* see 3.1 of Aeschylus: "From the terrible (*phoberon*) he slips back gradually towards the despicable." Also 9.4 of Hesiod's *Achlys*: "For he made his image not fearful (*deinon*), but hateful (*miseton*)"; and 10.4 of the *Arimaspeia*, that "it has more elegance (*anthos*) than fearfulness (*deos*)."<sup>12</sup> For this last passage see C. M. Bowra, "A Fragment of the *Arimaspea*," *Classical Quarterly* 39 (N.S. 6, 1956) 1-10.

22. The association of the irrational in the human mind with the divine is, of course, hardly original with Longinus. It is part of the well-established *pneuma* theory with its long history through the Stoics back to the later Presocratics. See Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum* 40, where *mantike* effects the connection with the divine. Similarly, see 41 for the relationship between the *psyche* and *mantike*: "For thus nothing keeps away the mantic evaporation, which has something related and innately akin (*syngenes*) to our souls." For the connection of *pneuma* with literature, see Democritus, frags. B 17-18, and Wehrli (above, n. 5) 12. See also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, U. of California Press, 1951, and Boston, Beacon Press, 1957) 82. For the physical theory of *pneuma* see the frags. of Diogenes of Apollonia in

Diels-Kranz (above, n. 5) A 16, C 2, C 3a, etc. For such terminology as *κορυβαντιᾶν* (*De Sublim.* 5.1, 39.2) see Dodds 77–80 (with notes 92–94 on p. 96).

23. For Longinus' emphasis on *hypbos* as the result of a divinely inspired state, see the whole description of the Pythian priestess in 13.2 and especially 16.2: “inspired, as it were, suddenly by the god and as if becoming seized by Apollo.” Wilhelm Kroll conjectured here too Posidonian influence, as P. defined his god as “denkendes und feuriges Pneuma,” a theory which Kroll traces also to the Hermetic writings; see his “Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Poseidonios,” *Neue Jahrb. f. d. class. Alt.* 39 (1917) 151. For possession by Apollo and *enthousiasmos* see also E. R. Dodds (above, n. 22) 69ff., 82.

24. In this connection of the human soul with *to theion* there is manifest a strong Platonic element which has often been ascribed to the influence of Posidonius. So W. Kroll (above, n. 23) 147–8, 151ff. It must be remembered, however, that Longinus does quote Plato directly and never names an intermediate source.

25. On the potential of *hypbos* as necessarily latent in every human soul, my treatment differs somewhat from that of R. Weber (above, n. 4). He states that “die *megethe* der Seele nicht a priori gegeben sind, sondern ihr Dasein erarbeitet werden muss unter Zuhilfnahme der Anlage zum Grossen” (p. 13). His emphasis is upon the need for *techne* as a “nurse” to *anatrephēin* the soul toward *hypbos*; thus he connects the ἀδρεπήβολον with *megalophyes*, and writes: “Die Kraft zur gedankliche Konzeption ist also gleichbedeutend mit der Naturanlage zum Grossen” (p. 11), but he puts great stress on the *anatrephēin pros ta megethe* as the necessary next step, requiring the “nurse” and the “bridle” (2.2). The difference, I think, lies in his perspective on *hypbos*. He regards it as an already formed end-product and therefore conceives of a rigidly systematized series of steps leading up to it, with *megethos* as having a “vermittelnde Funktion” (p. 14). See also p. 24: “... der Einfluss der *phrasis* auf das *hypbos* seinen Weg nehmen muss über das *logon megethos* also Mittler zwischen *phrasis* und *hypbos*,” and his schematization of the process of *hypbos* on p. 28. The emphasis of my essay is much more upon the growth of *hypbos* from within the soul of man as it is formed by contact with the cosmos and passed along the “canals” (*ochetous*) of the *psyche* by *mimesis*.

26. Some concept of the foundation of certain artistic principles upon an underlying human *physis* appears in the *De Comp.* of Dionysius, 11.55–56: “For who is there who is not led on and enthralled by the one tune, but undergoes no such experience from the other . . . ? There is some natural relationship of all of us (*physike oikeiotes*) towards melody and rhythm . . . and that is *pathos* which Nature (*physis*) bestowed upon all.” This passage shows that the reference to human *physis* as basis for literary criticism is not uncommon by the first century B.C., deriving ultimately from Plato and Aristotle and perhaps even Democritus (e.g., frag. B 21). See also the account of Lucian's conversation with Nigrinus (who had Platonic interests), where the image of flute-playing and the language of possession and *mania* are connected with *pathos*, but only those are affected who have some innate kinship in their nature (*en te phyei syngenes*), *Nigrinus* 37. The diction and images used are strikingly similar to those of Longinus and suggest, if not a common source, at least an established tradition.

27. In this emphasis upon the reaction of man to nature as a *literary theory* Longinus is outstanding and nearly isolated among the ancient rhetoricians.

See Wilamowitz' comment on the treatise: "Aber sie führt von sich aus in Feld, was man bei einem Griechen so selten findet, das Gefühl für das Naturgrosse," in *Kultur der Gegenwart* (Berlin, Teubner, ed. 3, 1912) 1.8: "Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache" 223. See also W. Rhys Roberts' edition of the *De Sublim.* (Cambridge, 1899, ed. 2, 1907) 37, who calls the author "the last great critic of ancient Greece and (in some sense) the first international critic of a wider world."

28. The importance of man as a *contemplator mundi* is, of course, a well-known Stoic doctrine familiar, *inter alia*, from Cicero, *N.D.* 2 and Seneca (e.g. *Ad Helbiam Matrem* 8.4ff.). For conjectures as to possible Posidonian sources for this topic in the *De Sublim.*, see Kroll (above, n. 23) 154ff. and Jaeger (above, n. 10) 25, 139. For the Stoic definition of the position of man as a member of the universe-state under the protection of a cosmic benevolent principle which leads the human *physis* into harmony with itself, see Zeno frag. 262 and Chrysippus frags. 333-9 (*Eth.*) in J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903) and Diodorus 1.1.3, which last passage may trace some of its Stoic affinities back to Polybius (1.4), the friend of Panaetius. See Kurt Lorenz, *Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Polybios* (Stuttgart, 1931) 21-8 (with his notes 49, 112, 114) and G. Busolt, "Diodors Verhältnisse zum Stoicismus" in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 139 (1889) 297-315, who emphasizes the influence of Posidonius.

29. R. Weber (above, n. 4) discusses some of the wider meanings of *hypnos* and connects it with philosophy through the distinction between *hypse* (plural) and *hypnos*. *Hypse* denote mere "Stilbegriff" (p. 35), defined as "a certain loftiness (*akrotes*) and elevation of language" (1.3), to which Caecilius confined himself (and therefore is censured by Longinus). Of *hypnos* itself, however, Weber remarks: "*Hypnos* grundsätzlich nicht gebunden ist an die Materie der *logoi*; es steht vielmehr außerhalb ihres Bezirks und ist *absolut*" (p. 36). He also connects this wider connotation of *hypnos* with the idea of "einer philosophischen Rhetorik" in Plato's *Phaedrus*, especially with regard to the use of *episteme* in the treatise (pp. 38ff.). Ammon (above, n. 3) thinks that the mixture of rhetoric with philosophy derives more immediately from the Rhodian school, Theodorus, Posidonius, Panaetius, or Antiochus of Ascalon. Wehrli (above, n. 5) stresses the origin of this combination of rhetoric and philosophy as early as Democritus.

30. For *to tapeinon* as the opposite of *hypnos* see *De Sublim.* 3.4, 9.10, 33.2, 25.2, 43.3. For a similar combination of the avoidance of meanness (*tapeinon*) with *to entheon*, see [Lucian] *Dem. Encom.* 5.

31. Weber discusses these *pathe* in a different connection (above, n. 4; see pp. 16f.) and emphasizes the separation between the *pathe* without *hypnos* in 8.2 (pity, grief, fear) and makes the connection between *phoboito* in 14.3 and the *phoboi* of 8.2. For the importance of pity and fear in early rhetorical theory and its possible origins in Gorgias, *Helen* 9, see Wehrli (above, n. 5) 20-1.

32. For the importance of Plato in the Rhodian school and the renewed stylistic interest in his work, see Jaeger (above, n. 10) 23ff.

33. For a collection of passages relating to the theme of man's "looking up" to heaven, unlike the other beasts, see S. Pantzerhielm Thomas, "The Prologues of Sallust," *Symbolae Osloenses* 15-16 (1936) 146-51, who again emphasizes the influence of the Platonizing Stoicism of Posidonius in the later popularity of the figure.

34. The precise word to be emended into this passage is difficult to decide. Voss' ἀλαζόνειάν τε for the ms. ἀναλέξον ἐν ἀντὶ can be easily defended from many instances of the combination of *alazoneia* with *τύφος* see LSJ s.v. *τύφος* and Weiske's edition of 1809, pp. 491-2. Vahlen and Roberts both accept *alazoneian*, whereas Prickard (OCT, 1947) prints *πλεονεξίαν*. Both words fit the sense; and, while *alazoneian* goes with *typhon* better than *pleonexian*, *pleonexian* suits *τρυφήν* better; and, in fact, Weiske cites a convincing parallel from Plutarch's *Agis* (796 C) which seems to show that *pleonexia* is closely associated in meaning with *ametros ploutos* and with the *pleonexia* mentioned slightly before in 44.7, so that it cannot be said to result from them. For this reason Voss' *alazoneian* may be preferable (and so Weiske, p. 491). To use the argument that the passage in question is an echo of the Platonic passage of 13.1 is, for the purpose of the present discussion, circular reasoning, and hence is not itself justification for the reading. For a close and interesting parallel, see also Polyb. 6.57.6.

35. It has been suggested that Posidonius was the transmitter and popularizer of the idea of the lack of civic interest and the growth of materialism (found in Plato *Laws* 831 b ff.) as the causes of cultural decline. See Aulitzky, *RE* 26, 1422.

36. Terminology involving *telos* is frequent in the treatise and occurs twice, for example, in 14.3, *atele*, *telesphoroumena*. See also 41.1, 44.8.

#### ADDENDUM

Unfortunately the above essay was in the press before use could be made of the careful survey of the rhetorical terminology for the *genera dicendi* and its development in both Greece and Rome by Franz Quadlbauer, "Die genera dicendi bis Plinius d. J.," *Weiner Studien* 71 (1958) 55-111. Especially relevant to the *De Sublim.* are pp. 97-101; of interest too is the similarity pointed out between the anti-atticist tendencies of the *De Sublim.* and two passages in the younger Pliny, both writers using the same two examples for *audacia* of expression (pp. 108-9, with n. 455).

PYRRHUS' NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ROMANS,  
280-278 B.C.

BY MARY R. LEFKOWITZ

PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, made an expedition to Italy in 281/80 B.C. in order to help the Tarentines in their war against Rome; he fought two major battles with the Romans, at Heracleia in 280 and at Ausculum in 279; and he departed for Sicily in 278. On this much, ancient historians are in agreement, but ancient evidence differs widely on the details of the campaign and of the negotiations following each of the battles. The historians are most at variance in their accounts of the negotiations after the battle of Heracleia; no two versions have quite the same chronology or interpretation of events, and one, Justin's, at first sight, seems to omit the negotiations altogether. Moreover, no primary sources are extant, and the later (usually much later) versions have, as might be expected, a decidedly pro-Roman tone. These uncertainties have made it difficult for modern scholars to determine exactly what happened after the battles of Heracleia and Ausculum. Indeed, in view of the weakness of the available evidence, any definite reconstruction is perhaps impossible. Many attempts, however, have been made, often based on the version of one ancient historian and with only a superficial examination of the other sources. Few have sought to answer the most basic question: why the sources are so confused in the first place.

In the nineteenth century, scholars tended to follow the account given by Plutarch or by the historians of the Livian tradition, which represented Pyrrhus as generally unsuccessful and suing for peace after the battle of Heracleia.<sup>1</sup> But in 1894 Schubert, basing his argument on a harsher set of peace terms given by Appian and by the then newly discovered *Ineditum Vaticanicum*, argued that Pyrrhus was in a strong position after Heracleia.<sup>2</sup> In 1896 Benedictus Niese, similarly discounting the Roman tradition, proposed that Justin alone among the historians drew on purely Greek sources, while all the others depended to some extent on Roman ones.<sup>3</sup> He therefore followed the *prima facie* order in Justin, which seems to indicate that negotiations occurred only after Ausculum, and concluded that there were no peace negotiations whatever after the battle of Heracleia. He cited as further support a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, and a statement by Cicero that

Appius Claudius Caecus' speech against concluding a peace with Pyrrhus occurred *septimo decimo anno*, which seems to mean in the seventeenth year (i.e. 279) after his consulship.<sup>4</sup> Although several later scholars accepted Niese's reconstruction, some preferred to follow the other ancient historians.<sup>5</sup> They argued that Justin was by no means a careful historian and had a strongly pro-Roman tendency. They refused to accept as supporting evidence the undated fragment of Diodorus Siculus and a date given by Cicero (who was not an historian) which could be read "sixteenth" as easily as "seventeenth."<sup>6</sup>

However, in 1953 Professor Otto Skutsch suggested that there was further support for Niese's theory in a fragment of the poet Ennius:<sup>7</sup>

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis:  
non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes  
ferro, non auro, uitam cernamus utrius.  
uosne uelit an me regnare era quidue ferat Fors  
uirtute experiamur, et hoc simul accipe dictum:  
quorum uirtuti belli fortuna pepercit  
eorundem libertati me parcere certum est.  
dono, ducite, doque uolentibus cum magnis dis.

Professor Skutsch held that Ennius, by far the earliest surviving authority, writing only about a century later than the events, would not have used such words as *belligerantes* and *uirtute experiamur* in strong contrast to *cauponantes bellum* if Pyrrhus had been ready to negotiate for peace. If, therefore, these lines of Ennius belong after Heracleia, Professor Skutsch argued, they support Niese's view that there were no peace negotiations in 280, since Pyrrhus' victory at Heracleia gave him confidence that he could win by arms; he was ready to negotiate only after his "Pyrrhic victory" and heavy losses at Ausculum in the following year, when his ambitions may already have been turning toward Sicily.<sup>8</sup>

This latest proposal suggests a careful re-examination of all the sources, especially of the incidental references in authors other than those who give a continuous narrative of the war, and a re-evaluation of their evidence for chronology and of their interpretations of events. Before attempting to discuss the events of the campaign and to evaluate the possible significance of the fragment of Ennius, it is necessary to examine the types of sources available to us, their chronology, their sources of information, and their bias.

Continuous accounts of Pyrrhus' expedition are given by Plutarch, Justin, Appian, and by the authors who drew on Livy Book XIII, namely, Dio Cassius and his epitomizer Zonaras, Eutropius, Florus,

Orosius, the author of *de Viris Illustribus*, and the *Periocha* of Livy.<sup>9</sup> There are also fragments of the continuous accounts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, of Diodorus Siculus, and, of course, of Ennius. Occasional mention is made of one or another of the events of the war by various authors, notably Cicero, Polybius, Valerius Maximus, Pausanias, and Frontinus.<sup>10</sup> But even the earliest author, Ennius, wrote at least one hundred years after the events, and the longer accounts date from the Empire. No version is detailed; the epitomes are by nature very abbreviated, and even Plutarch is more concerned with Pyrrhus the man than with the history of his campaigns. It should also be noted that Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus were rhetorical historians, not research scholars in the modern sense of the word. Their purpose was as much to moralize and to sustain the readers' interest as it was to give an accurate chronological account of events.<sup>11</sup> Therefore even apart from their pro-Roman bias, the available historical sources by nature are unreliable. Indeed, it seems upon examination that each version is essentially a collection of *logoi* or anecdotes, strung together in whatever arrangement seemed logical to each author, and what seemed logical to each depended on his particular bias. The principal *logoi* about negotiations between Rome and Pyrrhus during the war are:

<i>Logos</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>
March on Rome; Pyrrhus gets within a short distance.	MARCH
Cineas' first mission to Rome, about peace terms. He brings presents and bribes; Appius Claudius persuades the Romans to reject terms and gifts.	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD
Pyrrhus returns the prisoners without ransom.	PRIS. I
Pyrrhus has special dealings with Fabricius; offers him presents, which Fabricius refuses; and discusses peace.	FAB-PYR
Mago, the Carthaginian, comes to Rome in connection with a treaty between Rome and Carthage.	CARTHAGE
Pyrrhus' doctor offers to kill Pyrrhus; the Romans send him back.	DOCTOR
Pyrrhus returns the prisoners a second time without ransom.	PRIS. II
Cineas goes to Rome a second time about peace.	CINEAS II

The various authors' arrangements of these *logoi* are shown on Chart I.

## CHART I COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Perioda	Europius Florus	BASED UPON LIVY XIII: Orosius			De Vir. Ill.	Dio-Zonaras	PLOTARCH	APPIAN	JUSTIN	DION. HAL.
HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA	HERACLEIA
{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ CINEAS I APP. CLAUD }	{ CINEAS I APP. CLAUD }	{ CINEAS I APP. CLAUD }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }	{ PRIS. I FAB-PYR }
CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	CINEAS I APP. CLAUD	[DOCTOR]	[CINEAS II]	FAB-PYR	CARTHAGINIANS	{ CINEAS I APP. CLAUD }
AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor?	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	AUSCULUM Doctor	PRIS. II CINEAS II	PRIS. II CINEAS II

We may assume that behind these anecdotes lay at least a framework of incident. The arrangement of the *logoi* in the various accounts is more suspect, since it depends largely on each author's particular interpretation of events. Beside historical works, our authorities may have had at their disposal contemporary records, such as treaties, speeches, pontifical annals, laws, and personal records, like Pyrrhus' own memoirs and the account of his contemporary Proxenus.<sup>12</sup> Scholars are not in agreement as to how many written records at Rome antedated the third century B.C., but the modern trend is to believe that some did exist, even though it is generally doubted that Cicero had an actual copy of the speech of Appius Claudius to which he refers in *de Senectute*. We may accept, however, the statements of Dionysius, Plutarch, and Pausanias that they had seen Pyrrhus' memoirs, since Pyrrhus, as a Hellenistic prince, could well have written such an account.<sup>13</sup>

Our surviving authorities relied on primary sources only incidentally; the bulk of their information, and in some cases their references to primary sources, came from the works of other historians. It was possible for them to consult accounts of Pyrrhus' expedition in histories of the Greek world, like those of Hieronymus and Timaeus, who were concerned with history primarily from a non-Roman point of view, and also in the annals of Roman history, in both Greek and Latin, by Fabius Pictor, Claudio Quadrugarius, Valerius Antias, and Ennius.<sup>14</sup>

But we cannot determine with any certainty exactly what sources each author consulted and to what extent he relied on them. It has been suggested that the reason Pyrrhus was treated more kindly by Roman historians than were other enemy generals was the favorable portrait of him in Book VI of the *Annals* by Ennius, a Messapian, whose ancestors had been allied with Tarentum.<sup>15</sup> But the bias in most of our surviving authorities is more pro-Roman than pro-Pyrrhus; Pyrrhus, indeed, acts nobly by returning the prisoners, but Fabricius and the Romans are far more noble; they refuse gifts and bribes and send back the doctor who wanted to betray Pyrrhus. Perhaps the favorable picture of Pyrrhus in Ennius called forth a counterpart, an *antipatos*, in another, more narrowly patriotic version. In any case, our authorities surely drew on more than one tradition.

Moreover, it seems unlikely that any of these early Roman annalists would have referred to Pyrrhus' memoirs or to Proxenus or to Hieronymus' works. These were, however, consulted by the Greeks Dionysius, Plutarch, Polybius, and Pausanias. The accounts of the Greek historians were probably more extensive than those of the Romans; they were at least free from pro-Roman bias, for which reason they may have been

CHART II  
POSSIBLE SOURCES CONSULTED BY SURVIVING AUTHORITIES

	GREEK HISTORICAL TRADITION CONTEMPORARY	ROMAN HISTORICAL TRADITION SECONDARY	ROMAN HISTORICAL TRADITION CONTTEMPORARY
ENNIUS			Local tradition, early annalists
POLYBIUS	Pyrrhus' Memoirs? Proxenus	Hieronymus	Early annalists
CICERO			Ennius, early annalists
DIODORUS			Sicilian tradition, early annalists
DIONYSIUS			Early annalists
LIVY			Ennius, Valerius Antias, Clavius Quadratus
TROGUS JUSTIN			Roman historical tradition
APPIAN			Roman historical tradition
PLUTARCH			Roman historical tradition
DIO CASSIUS ZONARAS			Livy, Roman historical tradition  Some source drawing on Greek historical tradition

more accurate, especially if the Roman historians covered up aspects of the war unfavorable to Rome. For instance, the Romans seem to have obscured the failure of the third Decius Mus' *deuotio*, and Polybius notes that none of the Roman annalists mentioned the treaty that Rome made with Carthage at some point during the war.<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, special attention should be paid to those authorities who include material unfavorable to Rome and who thus may have consulted Greek sources. Polybius, since he specifically discounts the Roman annalists, can be considered as having relied on Greek sources, and, to some extent, on official records. Justin includes in his account two events particularly unfavorable to Rome which are omitted in other versions, namely Rome's negotiations with Carthage and Rome's initiation of peace negotiations after Heracleia. Moreover, he does not mention the Tarentine provocation of the war with Rome or Pyrrhus' insolent letter to the Roman consuls, two incidents unfavorable to Pyrrhus which are included in the other continuous accounts.<sup>17</sup> But Justin also includes much that is pro-Roman; he alludes to Pyrrhus' remark after Heracleia: "one more victory like this and I shall lose my whole army," and he gives an account of the Cineas I mission very favorable to Rome, citing with it another example of Roman *virtus*.<sup>18</sup> Plutarch and Dionysius state that they consulted Greek sources, and Appian represents the Romans as almost accepting a harsher set of peace terms than those given in the most pro-Roman versions. Yet these three sources include most of the pro-Roman anecdotes with interpretations similar to those in the most patriotic accounts. Livy seems to have relied principally on Roman sources, as do Cicero, Frontinus, and Valerius Maximus.<sup>19</sup> Thus virtually every source draws either on both traditions or on only the Roman tradition; what the Greek tradition was must remain a matter of conjecture.

With such an historiographical background, the task of reconstruction is by no means simple or straightforward. Lévéque rightly says: "nous nous sommes fondé sur les ruines d'une tradition essentiellement romaine" and no sure reconstruction is possible.<sup>20</sup> One of the main benefits to be derived from another discussion of the problem will be to show that we will never know exactly what happened, and that even Ennius does not provide a positive answer. The following discussion of the negotiations between Pyrrhus and Rome in the years 280 and 279 B.C. is intended more as an attempt to show how and why historical tradition is so confused, than to propose a hypothetical reconstruction.

From what little specific information our sources provide it is only possible to outline the route taken by Pyrrhus in his campaign. Even

according to Roman sources, Pyrrhus won the battle of Heracleia in 280 B.C., though he probably suffered heavy losses.<sup>21</sup> The ambiguous nature of its outcome caused some ancient historians to confuse it with the definitely indecisive battle of Ausculum in 279; hence the attribution in some accounts of events at Ausculum to Heracleia, and vice versa.<sup>22</sup> Heracleia was evidently considered a victory for Pyrrhus by the city-states of southern Italy, many of whom then came over to his side.<sup>23</sup> As the Romans retreated before him, Pyrrhus began to march north, possibly through Campania, with his own troops and those of his allies. By the end of the summer he was very close to Rome, probably at least at Praeneste, though the exact point at which he stopped is disputed.<sup>24</sup> The Romans considered the situation serious enough to recall their other consul from Etruria, and, according to the Livian tradition, to arm the proletariat, a measure taken only in times of the most extreme danger.<sup>25</sup> In the face of this increased fortification, in addition to the shortness of supplies and the approach of winter, Pyrrhus retreated to Campania, where he probably set up winter quarters.<sup>26</sup> In the following spring he marched to Apulia, where the battle of Ausculum, the true "Pyrrhic victory," was fought. Thereupon he withdrew to Tarentum, and sailed to Sicily in the spring of 278.

The negotiations between Pyrrhus and the Romans after the battle of Heracleia are described in more detail than is the route of his march, but the chronology and interpretation in the different versions are even more contradictory. From a military point of view, it seems most logical that the return of prisoners occurred shortly after Heracleia, since exchange of prisoners in ancient warfare took place soon after a battle, and Pyrrhus, as an invader, would have had particular difficulty in taking the prisoners along with him or in providing for them at Tarentum over a long period of time.<sup>27</sup> Most sources, however, place the negotiations about prisoners some time after the battle of Heracleia, either during Pyrrhus' march north (Dionysius), or during the winter (Dio-Zonaras, Eutropius, Plutarch, Appian).<sup>28</sup> However, Justin places the return of prisoners immediately after Heracleia. It is significant that Justin treats the return of prisoners and Fabricius' negotiations with Pyrrhus about peace as separate *logoi*, whereas in all the other accounts they are combined.<sup>29</sup> The fragment of Ennius also indicates that the prisoner and the peace negotiations took place on separate occasions, since Pyrrhus would not say *nec cauponantes bello or ferro, non auro uitam cernamus utriusque* while offering Fabricius bribes, or *uirtute experiamur* while attempting to make peace, though it is conceivable that he could have negotiated for peace with the Romans at a

later time, under different circumstances.<sup>30</sup> Thus in Ennius, Pyrrhus apparently made his speech on freeing the prisoners without ransom after the battle of Heracleia, but talked of peace with Fabricius in the winter, when his position was weaker. Since Fabricius, as official Roman *legatus*, probably represented Rome in both of the negotiations, the two missions could easily have become combined in later Roman tradition.<sup>31</sup>

It is interesting that the versions in which the two *logoi* are combined have a pronounced pro-Roman bias. In Plutarch, Appian, and Zonaras, Pyrrhus is frightened and eager for peace. Zonaras has Cineas persuade Pyrrhus to send back the prisoners without ransom in order to make his mission to Rome easier. In Plutarch and Appian, Cineas has already been to Rome and the prisoners are returned just for the *Saturnalia*, to remain longer only if peace terms are agreed upon. It would appear as though in Plutarch's and Appian's common source the whole chronology of the negotiations represented the extreme of pro-Roman bias, since following the Cineas I mission, Pyrrhus' generous gesture can only have seemed a calculated move. Dating the return of the prisoners in December in time for the *Saturnalia* made it possible to place Pyrrhus in still a worse light, without changing the *logos* altogether.<sup>32</sup> In Dionysius, Pyrrhus first says that he will only return the prisoners if peace is granted, but presently he is so impressed by Fabricius' refusal to accept bribes that he returns the prisoners *gratis*.<sup>33</sup> This last unlikely story appears in Eutropius, and may be considered slightly less pro-Roman, since it does not directly connect the return of the prisoners with Pyrrhus' desires for peace. It would appear, then, as if pro-Roman tradition were responsible for the combination of the *logos* about the prisoners with the *logos* about Fabricius and Pyrrhus. The late date given to the return of the prisoners in the pro-Roman accounts may thus be disregarded, and it may then be assumed that the exchange of prisoners, in accordance with the usual practice in ancient warfare, took place shortly after the battle of Heracleia.<sup>34</sup>

If the preceding hypothesis is acceptable, Fabricius and Pyrrhus negotiated about peace in the winter, and Cineas' first mission to Rome followed their negotiation. However, preceding the account of these events in Justin, Mago the Carthaginian comes to Rome with one hundred twenty ships and an offer to help the Romans. His aid is not accepted, and shortly afterward he goes to Pyrrhus, "with the cunning of a Carthaginian." The reasons given in Justin for the Carthaginians' sending help to Rome seem logical. If Pyrrhus gained a strong foothold in Italy, his power would constitute a grave threat to Carthage's position

in Sicily. For the same reasons, Mago went to Pyrrhus, *speculaturus consilia eius de Sicilia quo eum arcessiri fama erat.*<sup>35</sup> Rumors that Pyrrhus was planning to come to Sicily could well have been circulating as early as winter 280/79, though he did not actually get there until more than a year later. Valerius Maximus also says that the Carthaginians sent one hundred thirty ships to Rome at some point during the war, and that these were met at Ostia by the Romans and sent back with the remark *populum Romanum bella suspicere solere.*<sup>36</sup> This is almost certainly a version of the same story. The haughty refusal of aid by the Romans in Valerius Maximus and Justin's comment on Mago's cunning nature probably represent the pronounced hostility of Roman tradition to Carthage. Though the Carthaginian offer of aid was at first refused, the Romans were not above accepting Carthaginian assistance later in the war. Polybius tells us of an alliance made between Rome and Carthage during the war, containing the following provisions:<sup>37</sup>

If they make a written alliance with Pyrrhus, let them make it, each or both, with such provision that they may be allowed to assist each other in the territory of the party who is the victim of the aggression. If either side has need of aid, let the Carthaginians provide the boats both for the expedition and the attack, but let each side furnish provisions for its own men. The Carthaginians may come to the aid of the Romans on the sea also, if necessary, but let no one force the crews to debark against their will.

A treaty between Rome and Carthage is mentioned in the *Periocha* as having been made directly after Ausculum.<sup>38</sup> Evidence that the alliance was effective may be found in Diodorus Siculus, who says that the Carthaginians, "after making an alliance with the Romans," besieged Rhegium for some time, and then crossed the strait to Sicily, where they awaited Pyrrhus' arrival. Hence the treaty should be dated in the spring or summer of 279 B.C.<sup>39</sup> Rhegium was then ruled by Decius, a Campanian who had been sent by the Romans in 282 or 281 to defend the town against Pyrrhus, but who had seized it for himself.<sup>40</sup> Since Pyrrhus controlled the southern part of Italy, the Romans were unable to besiege Rhegium themselves until after Pyrrhus' departure from Italy.<sup>41</sup> The Carthaginians, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, had come to assist "in the territory of the party who is the victim of the aggression," providing their own boats and men. Polybius says that this treaty was mentioned by none of the Roman annalists; that Rome made a treaty and actually accepted aid from her archenemy Carthage must have been considered at Rome the blackest mark in a generally disgraceful war. The Carthaginian expedition under Mago,

which Justin and Valerius Maximus date before Fabricius' mission about peace, suggests that there were dealings between Rome and Carthage as early as winter 280/279. A logical reconstruction of the events might perhaps be that the Carthaginians, upon hearing of Rome's defeat at Heracleia and of Pyrrhus' advance into Campania in the winter of 280/279, sent an embassy to Rome ostensibly to propose an alliance, but actually to estimate her position and decide whether they should join Rome or Pyrrhus. The Romans, who were thinking of making peace with Pyrrhus themselves, did not immediately respond to this offer. Mago then visited Pyrrhus on the same pretext and for the same purpose, but again no treaty resulted. Only in the spring or summer of 279, after the Romans had found Pyrrhus' peace terms unacceptable, were they willing to make an alliance with the Carthaginians.<sup>42</sup> What influence the Carthaginian offer then had on the Romans' refusal of Pyrrhus' terms is, in view of the evidence, difficult to estimate, but it may well have been considerable.

According to Justin, the Romans sent Fabricius to negotiate a peace with Pyrrhus about the time when the Carthaginians came to Rome.<sup>43</sup> It is likely that these peace negotiations took place sometime during the winter of 280/279, in which they are dated in other accounts.<sup>44</sup> In Justin the Romans initiate peace negotiations, which Cineas is sent to Rome to confirm, but in the other accounts, where prisoner and peace negotiations are combined, it is Pyrrhus who insists upon talking peace, while Fabricius has come only about the prisoners, and Cineas then goes to the Senate with terms proposed only by Pyrrhus.<sup>45</sup> The Romans probably were in a worse position than Pyrrhus; they had lost the battle of Heracleia, and a strong enemy force was in control of southern Italy. At this time the Romans were not particularly interested in expanding to the south, but rather in consolidating their gains in central Italy. Perhaps, therefore, as Tenney Frank suggests, the Senate was eager to put an end to this dangerous, somewhat imperialistic war against Tarentum and her allies, in which Rome had been involved by the popular party.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the negotiations could well have been initiated by Pyrrhus, who had failed in his attempt to take Rome and was perhaps having trouble controlling his allies. Certainly he was not unreceptive to the idea of peace, since the terms which he offered as victor were not harsh.<sup>47</sup> Probably there was desire for peace on both sides, but Roman apologetic tradition tended to obscure the Roman initiative in the negotiations, as we have seen, by making Pyrrhus introduce peace negotiations in connection with the prisoner negotiations.

The weakness of Pyrrhus' position is further emphasized in the Roman tradition (but, significantly, not in Justin) by the description of his attempt to bribe Fabricius. Pyrrhus is represented variously as offering Fabricius gifts and/or generalship and/or one quarter of his kingdom, to encourage the Roman to come over to his side.<sup>48</sup> These offers are of course rejected by Fabricius, a poor, honest, private citizen of Rome, sharply contrasted to the rich, dissolute Greek monarch, who thinks allegiance may be bought by gold.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps Fabricius' character was glorified to such a degree by the Roman tradition in order to counterbalance the noble characteristics attributed to Pyrrhus in Ennius and in the Greek tradition. The *logos* about Cineas' efforts to make the Romans accept Pyrrhus' peace terms by offering them gifts and money belongs almost certainly to the same sort of tradition as the Fabricius-Pyrrhus *logos* and has the same function.<sup>50</sup> It is perfectly possible that Pyrrhus did return the prisoners as a gesture of good will, and later tendered gifts to Fabricius and his compatriots, either to influence them or because gifts often figured in Greek diplomatic negotiations. Some significance also may be attached to the fact that the Cineas *logos* is incorporated in Justin's account, but it is impossible to estimate how much of this has basis in fact. We may perhaps infer that both sides wanted peace, and perhaps, following Justin and discounting the pro-Roman versions, that the Romans in the winter of 280/279 initiated peace negotiations which Cineas was sent to confirm. But the evidence on both Pyrrhus' and Rome's motivations, because of the brevity of accounts and the pro-Roman tradition, is too obscure to make any positive conclusions possible.

The peace terms proposed by Pyrrhus are given only in a few accounts, and in varying degrees of harshness toward Rome. The most severe version is given in Appian and in the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, which seem to draw on the same source. Rome must leave Tarentum alone; the Greeks in Italy are to remain free and autonomous; the Lucanians, Samnites, Bruttians, and Daunians are to keep what they have; and Rome is to stay within the boundaries of Latium.<sup>51</sup> The terms are somewhat similar in Eutropius, where Pyrrhus asks to keep that part of Italy which he already has, namely Campania and the southern region. These terms simply amount to a demand that Rome recognize the independence of Pyrrhus' allies.<sup>52</sup> Plutarch's, Zonaras', and Florus' versions give much more moderate terms. Pyrrhus wants friendship with the Romans and immunity for Tarentum, with no mention of his other allies.<sup>53</sup> These last terms sound as if they had been transferred backward from those probably proposed by Pyrrhus after Ausculum, when

Pyrrhus was in a much less strong position and eager to make a settlement before departing for Sicily. Since Pyrrhus' position after Heracleia was fairly good, the terms offered in Appian and the *Ineditum Vaticanum* seem much more likely, since they represent a reasonable fulfillment of his aims and are at the same time more than fair to the defeated power, the Romans.

Whatever the terms proposed, the Senate evidently considered them fair enough, since they were, according to all versions, on the point of accepting them when the blind and aged Appius Claudius was led in and made his famous speech. Similar versions of the speech are given in Appian, the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, and Plutarch, but other accounts only contain brief allusions to it.<sup>54</sup> In the version in Appian and Plutarch, Appius is represented as objecting principally to allowing the Lucanians and Bruttians to have complete freedom and to Rome's serving "Macedonia."<sup>55</sup> The only acceptable terms would be that Pyrrhus should leave Italy.<sup>56</sup> It is hard to see where even the worst diehard would object to the peace terms proposed in Plutarch, but there could be very real objection to the terms given by Appian and in the *Ineditum Vaticanum*. Even though Rome had not yet extended her sphere of influence into southern Italy, the presence there of a strong foreign power would constitute a real threat, especially since Pyrrhus had united most of the independent southern tribes under his command, so that Rome would not be able in the future to divide and conquer, hitherto her most favored means of expansion. If the Senate lacked confidence in Rome's ability to renew a war so far unsuccessful, there was always the offer of aid from the Carthaginians, who could attack Pyrrhus from the south, as they were to do the following winter under the terms of the treaty made in the spring or summer of 279 between Rome and Carthage.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the possibility of Carthaginian aid, rather than Appius Claudius' harangue, strengthened the resolve of the Senate to reject the peace terms and to continue the war.<sup>58</sup> If tradition is silent on this point, it must be remembered that it would not sound well to any Roman of the later third century or thereafter that Rome had once relied on her archenemy Carthage. At any rate, according to all versions, the proposed peace terms were rejected by the Senate, and hostilities renewed.

After the peace terms had been rejected, Pyrrhus set out from Campania in the spring of 279, and met the Romans at Ausculum in central Apulia.<sup>59</sup> In spite of the fact that Decius Mus failed to accomplish his *deuotio*, the Romans fared somewhat better at Ausculum than they had at Heracleia, though losses on both sides were great.<sup>60</sup> Pyrrhus

himself retired to Tarentum for the winter, but his allies and garrisons probably remained in control of the south of Italy, since the Romans made no attempt to leave their winter quarters in Apulia until after his departure.<sup>61</sup> According to Plutarch and Appian, ambassadors from the principal Sicilian cities came asking Pyrrhus to aid them in their war against Carthage.<sup>62</sup> The suggestion appealed to Pyrrhus, since there was promise that a campaign in Sicily would be more successful than the war which he was so indecisively waging in Italy. Moreover, he had hopes that the conquest of Sicily would ultimately lead to triumph over Carthage herself.<sup>63</sup> He did not, however, leave Italy until the fall of 278.<sup>64</sup>

The doctor incident, so frequently cited by writers of the late Republic and Empire as an example of Roman *virtus*, occurred while the Romans were still in winter quarters, but after Fabricius had been elected consul, thus probably in late winter 278. Plutarch, Appian, Dio, and the sources which drew on Livy give the same version which Aulus Gellius quotes from the early annalist Claudius Quadrigarius. Nicias, Pyrrhus' doctor, goes to Fabricius and offers to poison Pyrrhus. Fabricius, however, sends him back to the king under guard, with an explanation, in gratitude for which Pyrrhus releases the Roman prisoners without ransom.<sup>65</sup> This version has the same tone and function as the other stories about Fabricius, and gives much more credit to the Romans' moral character than did the version also cited by Aulus Gellius from Valerias Antias, another early annalist. In this version, Fabricius consults the Senate about the doctor's offer, and the Senate only sends a warning to Pyrrhus, without calling the doctor by name.<sup>66</sup> In Plutarch, Appian, and Dio, the return of the doctor causes Pyrrhus to propose peace terms once again, and to send to Rome either Cineas for a second time (Plutarch, Appian) or simply envoys (Dio).<sup>67</sup> The actual terms are not mentioned, but we may perhaps assume that they were similar to those offered by Pyrrhus after Heracleia according to Plutarch and Dio, that is, friendship with Rome and immunity for Tarentum.<sup>68</sup>

Many aspects of the second return of prisoners and the second peace mission to Rome are closely similar to their counterparts in 280. Again the prisoners are returned without ransom, and Pyrrhus' peace terms are again rejected with the same demand, that he leave Italy. Appian even makes Cineas go to Rome with presents for the women and children, a detail found in the Cineas I *logos* in Justin and Plutarch.<sup>69</sup> The interpretation of Pyrrhus' motives in Zonaras' Prisoners II *logos* closely resembles that given by Dionysius in his Prisoners I *logos*. In

both, Pyrrhus is so amazed by Fabricius' honesty that he releases the prisoners without ransom.<sup>70</sup> The doctor *logos* and this second set of negotiations may perhaps be regarded as part of the pro-Roman and therefore less reliable tradition, since they tend to make the Romans seem nobler and in a better position strategically than Pyrrhus, and since they are not mentioned in Justin, who seems to be the least pro-Roman source.<sup>71</sup> It may even be argued that the *Prisoners II* and *Cineas II* *logoi* are simply doublets of the *logoi* about the earlier negotiations.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Pyrrhus would have had further negotiations with the Romans before he left, and that these events, treated with a pro-Roman bias, would not sound very different from the negotiations of 280/279. The evidence available is not sufficient to make an attempt at reconstruction possible.

In any event, Pyrrhus finally departed for Sicily in the late summer or fall of 278, leaving behind a garrison in Italy.<sup>73</sup> His garrisons and allies remained in control of the south of Italy until 275, when Pyrrhus returned from his unsuccessful expedition to Sicily and was defeated by the Romans at Beneventum. He left Italy for good in 274.

As is so often the case, it is easier to raise objections to the reconstructions of others than to build a convincing hypothesis of one's own. The objections to basing a reconstruction on epitomes and fragments, and to the distinction here made between Greek and Roman sources on the basis of the slight evidence available, are very real, and cannot be answered completely. The pro-Roman tradition, which seems to have created a series of *logoi* about Fabricius to counteract the favorable tradition about Pyrrhus and to have played down the significance of Rome's dealings with Carthage during the war, has sufficiently obscured the facts to make any positive conclusions impossible. Even Justin's account, which seems to rest on less biased Greek sources, has survived only in a brief and often carelessly constructed epitome of Trogus Pompeius' lost work, the exact sources of which cannot be determined.

Despite the vague, not to say conflicting, character of the ancient statements about Pyrrhus' campaigns in Italy, the following tentative reconstruction might be proposed:

After his victory at Heracleia in the spring of 280, Pyrrhus returned the Roman prisoners of war without ransom. He then marched north through Campania toward Rome, but, after he had gone as far as Praeneste, he withdrew to Campania for the winter. During this winter of 280/279, a Carthaginian embassy came to Rome with an offer of an alliance against Pyrrhus. The Romans did not, however, accept this offer, since they were by then hoping to make peace with

Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians stopped in Campania to determine the nature of Pyrrhus' plans, and then sailed back to Carthage. The Romans meanwhile sent Fabricius to negotiate a peace with Pyrrhus, and terms were agreed upon, whereby the independence of Pyrrhus' allies was to be guaranteed. When the terms were sent back to Rome for confirmation, Pyrrhus sent Cineas along as his envoy, but the Senate, either encouraged by Appius Claudius or relying on the Carthaginian offer of aid, or both, rejected Pyrrhus' terms. Hostilities therefore were renewed, and Pyrrhus marched to Apulia, where he won a costly victory over the Romans at Ausculum in the spring of 279. After the battle, though Pyrrhus still retained control of the south of Italy, he retired to Tarentum for the winter of 279/278. There legates from the major Sicilian cities came to recruit his aid for war against Carthage. The Romans had finally made an alliance with Carthage against Pyrrhus in the spring or summer of 279, and during the winter a Carthaginian force landed in Italy. After possible second negotiations with the Romans about peace and the return of prisoners, Pyrrhus left for Sicily in the summer of 278.

Essentially this reconstruction follows the outline of events given by Justin, with information about the march and terms of peace supplied from other accounts. Justin's chronology differs from Livy's only in its separation of the negotiations about prisoners from those concerning peace and in its inclusion of the Carthaginian offer of aid after Heracleia, events obscured in the more pro-Roman tradition to which Livy had access. It would appear that the *Prisoners II* and *Cineas II logoi* are doublets of the *Prisoners I* and *Cineas I logoi*. The latter are attested in all the continuous accounts, while the *Prisoners II* and *Cineas II logoi* are omitted in what seem to be the most reliable accounts, Justin and Livy, and are included only by Plutarch, Appian, and Dio, whose accounts generally show the most pro-Roman bias. Therefore, if there were only one set of negotiations, ancient evidence indicates that they came after Heracleia, in 280/279, not after Ausculum, in 279/278. It is certainly possible that some negotiations about the return of prisoners and about peace did take place in 279/278, in accordance with the usual Hellenistic practice, but it seems unlikely that these negotiations should be of the same character as those of the preceding year.

Although the Ennius fragment is of value in indicating that the negotiations for prisoners and for peace in 280/279 were originally separate, the words *belligerantes* and *uirtute experiamur* attributed to Pyrrhus by Ennius do not necessarily prove that no peace negotiations occurred in 280/279. These words seem to be rhetorical antitheses to *cauponantes*

*bello*, not an actual threat to fight without negotiations. The concept of *uirtute experiri* is very common in ancient literature of all periods, and is especially associated in the historical tradition of Pyrrhus' war with the version of the Doctor *logos* based on the account given by Claudius Quadrugarius.<sup>74</sup> Even if Pyrrhus' words are taken literally, it is by no means impossible that he could have changed his mind a short time later; the whole history of his campaigns indicates that he acted on impulse rather than on any consistent policy.<sup>75</sup> It seems safer not to disregard the bulk of ancient evidence that there were peace negotiations between Pyrrhus and the Romans after the battle of Heracleia. The fragment of Ennius does not necessarily mean that after Heracleia Pyrrhus felt himself to be in such a position of strength that he could risk all on further fighting, and therefore that he did not presently negotiate with the Romans.

#### APPENDIX: THE CHRONOLOGY OF PLUTARCH AND JUSTIN

Plutarch dates the doctor incident immediately following Fabricius' mission to Pyrrhus about the prisoners and introduces it with the phrase "after this, when Fabricius was consul."<sup>76</sup> Since Fabricius became consul on March 15, 278, this would date the incident thereafter and not in 280/279, after the battle of Heracleia. However, this would not necessarily mean that he also dated the Prisoners I and Fabricius-Pyrrhus *logoi* after Ausculum, in 279/278, since he has grouped all the *logoi* about Fabricius together, in a topical and not in a strict chronological order.

Similarly Justin seems to have arranged events by subject and not chronologically, since he mentions the two battles first, and then describes negotiations:<sup>77</sup>

Heracleia is fought, the prisoners returned; *interiectis deinde diebus* the battle of Ausculum occurs.

*Interea* Mago goes to Rome and then to Pyrrhus; *dum haec aguntur*, Fabricius goes to Pyrrhus about peace and Cineas then goes to Rome; *post haec* Pyrrhus sails to Sicily.

The indications of time are very general, but accurate in outline. *Interiectis deinde diebus* probably means an indefinite period of time; *interea*, "meanwhile," could very well mean between the two battles; *dum haec aguntur*, i.e., "at about the same time," as Mago's visit to Rome, is a perfectly possible dating; and *post haec* probably means "after all these events," battles and negotiations both.<sup>78</sup> Justin thus seems to date Heracleia in 280, Ausculum in 279, and the Prisoners I,

Fabricius-Pyrrhus, Cineas I *logoi* in 280/279, as they are dated in other accounts. Justin's chronology in listing the negotiations has been criticized by those who believe that Mago came to Rome in the winter after Ausculum, but there is no reason to identify Mago's mission, which could well have happened in 280/279, with the conclusion of the treaty between Rome and Carthage of the following year.<sup>79</sup> There is no explicit support in the ancient sources for Niese's view, following the *prima facie* order of Justin's account, that peace negotiations occurred only in 279/278, after Ausculum.<sup>80</sup> However, it would be possible to follow Justin's *prima facie* order if the battles of Heracleia and Ausculum followed closely upon each other, a supposition which would be natural if *interiectis deinde diebus* was taken in its most literal sense, that is, to mean "a short time later."

The view that Heracleia and Ausculum occurred within a short time of each other seems to be supported by Festus, who makes Laevinius the commander of the Romans at Ausculum, thus dating the battle of Ausculum in 280, when Laevinius was consul: *Osculana pugna in prouerbio, quo significabatur uictos uincere, quia in eadem et Valerius Laevinius imperator Ro. a Pyrrho erat uictus, et breui eundem regem deuicerat Sulpicius . . . item imperator noster.*<sup>81</sup> Thus Festus seems to state that there were three battles; two in 280, Heracleia and Ausculum, and a third battle in the following year, at which Sulpicius (consul in 279) was in command. If this were so, the third battle might have become confused with Ausculum in later tradition, for reasons impossible to determine. Following the *prima facie* order of Justin, it could then be proposed that the Prisoners I negotiations took place between the battles of Heracleia and Ausculum, and that the Carthaginian, Fabricius-Pyrrhus, and Cineas I negotiations came after Ausculum, but still in the year 280/279. Justin, according to this view, would have failed to mention the third battle in 279 because it had become conflated with Ausculum. This hypothesis would support Professor Skutsch's belief, based on Ennius frag. 194–201, that no negotiations except the return of prisoners took place between Heracleia and Ausculum.

It is, however, more likely that Festus has combined the two battles of Heracleia and Ausculum into a continuous whole, as indicated by his *in eadem* and *breui eundem regem*. He has distinguished the battles by naming the two commanders, but has applied the proverb *uictos uincere* to both battles, i.e., the Romans, conquered at Heracleia, conquer at Ausculum. If this is his meaning, he has both missed the point of Pyrrhus' remark that his victory was so costly as to constitute a defeat and has made Ausculum a Roman victory, contrary to the bulk

of tradition.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, whether or not Pyrrhus' remark should be attached to Heracleia or to Ausculum, Festus' statement concerning *Osculana pugna* cannot be used as evidence.

Justin clearly agrees with common tradition that there were only two battles, fought in the successive years 280 and 279. He mentions the battles first, and then lists, in chronological order, the peace negotiations which took place between them. Like Plutarch, he prefers a topical to a strict chronological order.

## NOTES

This paper is based on a seminar report presented to Professor Otto Skutsch. The author wishes to thank Professor Mason Hammond and Miss E. Ann Pottinger for their help in its preparation.

1. The most recent work to follow the traditional interpretation that Pyrrhus sued for peace after Heracleia is Ulrich von Hassell, *Pyrrhus* (Munich, Münchener Verlag, usw., 1947).

2. Rudolf Schubert, *Geschichte des Pyrrhus* (Königsberg, Koch, 1894) 176–200.

3. Benedictus Niese, "Zur Geschichte des Pyrrhischen Krieges," *Hermes* XXXI (1896) 481–507.

4. According to Niese, pp. 488–489, the battle mentioned in Diodorus Siculus 22.6.2 is Ausculum, and thus the negotiations described in 22.6.3 take place after Ausculum. For Cicero's statement in *de Senectute* 16, see Niese, pp. 489–491, especially p. 490 n.1, on the meaning of *septimo decimo anno*.

5. Niese's reconstruction was accepted by Gaetano de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, vol. II (Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1907) 380–405 and by Alfredo Passerini, "Sulle trattative dei Romani con Pirro," *Athenaeum*, N.S. XXI (1943) 92–112. Other reconstructions, accepting negotiations after Heracleia, have been proposed by Tenney Frank, *CAH* VII 638–656 and *Roman Imperialism* (New York, Macmillan, 1941) 82 n.10; Walther Judeich, "König Pyrrhos' römische Politik," *Klio* XX (1926) 1–18; Geoffrey Neal Cross, *Epirus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1932) 115–119; Oswald Hamburger, *Untersuchungen über den Pyrrhischen Krieg* (Diss. Würzburg; Würzburg, M. Wolff, 1927) *passim*; Pierre Wuilleumier, *Tarente* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 148; Paris, E. de Boccard, 1939) 113–136; and Pierre Lévéque, *Pyrrhos* (Diss. Paris; Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 166; Paris, E. de Boccard, 1947) *passim*. Lévéque's treatment is the fullest to date.

6. The battle mentioned in Diodorus Siculus 22.6.2 could just as well be Heracleia. The remark: "one more victory, etc.," here attributed to Pyrrhus, usually follows Heracleia in other accounts; see below, n. 21. Plutarch, however, puts it after Ausculum, and Niese, believing that Plutarch depended on Greek sources, dates the Diodorus Siculus fragment accordingly. But there is no reason to believe that Plutarch is more accurate than Livy; see above, p. 153, and below, n. 19.

7. Otto Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Inaugural Lecture delivered at University College, London; London, H. K. Lewis, 1953). The Ennius

fragment, from the sixth book of the *Annals*, nos. 194–201 in Iohannes Vahlen, ed., *Ennianae Poesis Reliquae* (Leipzig, Teubner, ed. 2, 1903) is cited by Cicero in *de Officiis* 1.38.

8. Skutsch, p. 12: "The Annals prove that no embassy was sent to Rome by Pyrrhus after the battle of Heracleia. The famous mission of Cineas, to which there is one reference in the fragments (Vahlen no. 217), took place after Ausculum."

9. Accounts of Pyrrhus' expedition are given in: Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, especially 13–22; Justin 18.1–2; Appian, *Samn.* 10–11; Dio, Fragments 40.13–46, parallel to Zonaras 8.3–5; Eutropius 2.11–14; Florus 1.13; Orosius 4.1; *de Viris Illustribus* 35; *Periocha* of Livy bk. 13. Of the Livian accounts, the fullest is in Dio/Zonaras; the rest are very brief. Schwartz, "Cassius Dio" in *RE* III (6) 1684–1722, questions whether Dio used Livy, but Dio/Zonaras' chronology and interpretation often parallel the other Livy sources closely (but see below, n. 17).

10. Occasional mention of the war with Pyrrhus is made in: Dionysius 19.13–18, 20.1–3; Diodorus Siculus 22.6; Ennius, *Annals* bk. 6, fragments 180–203, 207–210 (Vahlen); Polybius 3.25; Pausanias 1.12. For a complete list of all ancient references to Pyrrhus' expedition of 280–278, including the incidental mentions by the authors listed in the text, see T. Robert S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (American Philological Association Monographs XV; Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press) vol. I (1951) 191–194.

11. On the rhetorical, moral, and artistic aims of Greek historical writing, see M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Sather Classical Lectures XXI; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947) 11–15.

12. Proxenus, Pyrrhus' court historian, wrote an *Epeirotika*, or history of Pyrrhus' campaign; see Konrat Ziegler, "Proxenus no. 13" in *RE* XXIII (45) 1034.

13. On the availability of written records from before the third century B.C., see Tenney Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Sather Classical Lectures VII; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1930; reprint, 1956) 176–178. Laistner, p. 25, says, however, that Frank is "perhaps inclined to exaggerate the total amount of such material available." On whether or not Appius Claudius' speech was extant in Cicero's day, see above, p. 159, and below, n. 54. For Pyrrhus' memoirs, see Dionysius 20.11; Plutarch 21; Pausanias 1.12.2. Lévéque, pp. 20–21, however, doubts that these memoirs survived Pyrrhus' last campaign, and believes that only Proxenus could have seen them.

14. Hieronymus, roughly contemporary with Pyrrhus, wrote a history from Alexander's time through Pyrrhus'. Plutarch used him for the last part of his *Life of Pyrrhus*; see Lévéque, p. 23. On Timaeus (ca. 356–260 B.C.), who wrote a rhetorical history of Sicily down through Pyrrhus' time, see Laistner, p. 6; Lévéque, pp. 32–37. On the Roman annalists, see Laistner, pp. 28–29; Frank, *Life and Literature*, p. 172. Claudius' and Valerius' versions of the doctor incident have been preserved for us by Aulus Gellius 3.8; see above, p. 160.

15. Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.38: *Poeni foedifragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores. Pyrrhi quidem de captiuis reddendis illa praeclara* (he then quotes the Ennius fragment beginning *nec mi aurum posco*, Vahlen nos. 194–201, see above p. 148). *Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia.* Tenney Frank, "Two Historical Themes in Roman Literature: (B) Pyrrhus, Appius Claudius, and Ennius,"

*Classical Philology* XVI (1926) 315, suggested that most of the anecdotes we have about Pyrrhus go back to Ennius, and he is supported by Skutsch, p. 13. Passerini, p. 93 n.1, and Lévéque, p. 46, believe that this hypothesis is not well substantiated. On Ennius' influence on Livy in particular, see Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstsprosa* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1898) I 235, and Vahlen, pp. lxi ff., who cite verbal parallels.

16. Most modern historians have doubted that the *deuotio* of Decius Mus was successful, since he is mentioned as being alive in 265 B.C. in *de Vir. Ill.* 36.3. See below, n. 60.

17. Compare Justin 18.1, where Pyrrhus is compared to Alexander the Great, with Plutarch 13–16, Appian 10.2, Florus 1.13, Orosius 4.1.1–2, Zonaras 8.2, who all give a pro-Roman version of the start of the war (see also Dionysius 19.8). Dionysius 19.9–10 and Zonaras give versions of an insolent letter from Pyrrhus to Laevinius; note also Plutarch 16, who mentions Pyrrhus' offer to arbitrate. Elias J. Bickerman, "Apocryphal Correspondence of Pyrrhus," *Classical Philology* XLII (1947) 137, believes that the letters in Dionysius 19.9–10 represent the original correspondence. Zonaras is the only Livian source to mention the letter, which may indicate that he was drawing on Greek tradition, but since the other Livian accounts are so brief, it is impossible to draw a definite conclusion.

18. Niese's statement, pp. 484–485, that Trogus/Justin used only Greek sources cannot be substantiated. See Hamburger, p. 47; Cross, pp. 115–119; Lévéque, p. 60. On Justin as an historian, see also Kroll, "Marcus Iunianus Iustinus" in *RE* X (19) 956–958; and Lévéque, pp. 58–61.

19. The version of the peace terms in Appian 10.1 is paralleled by those in H. von Arnim, ed., "Ineditum Vaticanum," *Hermes* XXVI (1892) 118–130. E. Schwartz, "Appianos aus Alexandrien" in *RE* II (3) 217–218, comments on the difficulty of determining Appian's sources for this period. For Appian's and Plutarch's pro-Roman bias about the return of prisoners, see above, p. 155. The pro-Roman Fabricius-Pyrrhus anecdote appears in both Appian and Plutarch and in Dionysius; again see above, p. 155. On Livy's sources see Klotz, "T. Livius no. 10" in *RE* XIII (25) 845.

20. Lévéque, p. 370.

21. Plutarch 17.4, Appian 10.1, Orosius 4.1.12–13, and Justin 18.1 comment specifically on Pyrrhus' great losses. Probably originally associated with this battle were the remarks "One more victory like this and I shall lose my whole army" (*de Vir. Ill.* 35, Dio 40.18/Zonaras 8.3, Orosius 4.1.15; compare Justin 18.1: *maiorem gloriam quam laetitiam habebat*) and "With such soldiers I could conquer the world" (Dio 40.19, Florus 1.13, Eutropius 2.12, and *Periocha* 13).

22. There are many and varied instances of confusion between the two battles. Diodorus Siculus, 22.6.1–2, states that *all* Pyrrhus' victories were Cadmean. Of Heracleia, Florus, 1.13, says: *finis pugnae etiam beneficio noctis impositus est*, but Zonaras, 8.3, attributes this interruption by night to Ausculum; see also Dionysius 20.3. Festus, p. 214 (Lindsay), puts Laevinius, consul in 280 B.C., at Ausculum (see the Appendix). Orosius 4.1.14 has probably, therefore, wrongly attributed Ennius' lines (Vahlen nos. 192–193):

Qui antehac fuere uiri, pater optime Olympi,  
hos ego in pugna uici uictusque sum ab isdem

to Heracleia, but he describes a wounded elephant at Ausculum, which is associated elsewhere with Heracleia. Justin says that Pyrrhus was "gravely wounded" at Heracleia, though in other accounts this occurs only at Ausculum; see, however, Florus 1.13, who says Pyrrhus was wounded twice, though this could mean at Ausculum and at Beneventum.

23. On Pyrrhus' acquisition of new allies after Heracleia, see Justin 18.1; Plutarch 17.4-5; Florus 1.13: *tota tremente Campania*; Dio 40.21-22/Zonaras 8.3; Eutropius 2.13; Appian 10.4.

24. According to Livy (in Florus 1.13 and Zonaras 8.4) and Appian 10.3, Pyrrhus marched north through Campania. Zonaras 8.4 mentions his failure to capture Naples. The city of Praeneste is about twenty miles southeast of Rome. Eutropius specifically says that Pyrrhus stopped there. Florus describes Pyrrhus as: *prope captam urbem a Praenestina arce prospexit*. According to *de Vir. Ill.* 35.6, Pyrrhus got to the twentieth stone from Rome; according to Plutarch 17.4, three hundred stades from Rome. Zonaras 8.1 mentions a revolution in Praeneste before Pyrrhus' arrival, and in 8.3 some Praenestine citizens are brought to Rome and executed. The city might well have been betrayed to Pyrrhus. Dio/Zonaras have Pyrrhus march up into Etruria seeking allies, and it should be noted that Praeneste had at one time been held by the Etruscans. Appian, however, has Pyrrhus come only as far as Anagnia, some thirty-five miles from Rome, below Praeneste. But in this case Livy's version, that he reached Praeneste, seems to be less favorable to Rome, and might be acceptable. See Gerhard Radke, "Praeneste" in *RE* XXII (44) 1553.

25. On Rome's being heavily armed, see Orosius 4.1.2-3 and Augustine, *de Civ. Dei* 3.17, and compare Zonaras 8.4: "city under guard." On the basis of Orosius and Augustine, and an emended fragment of Cassius Hemina in Nonius, p. 67.22, Vahlen places in *Annals* bk. 6 a fragment of Ennius assigned to no particular book in its citations; see his pp. clxxv-vi.

26. Only Dio/Zonaras and Appian give any details about the retreat of Pyrrhus. According to Appian 10.3, Pyrrhus spent the winter in Campania, but in Zonaras 8.5, Pyrrhus withdraws through Campania back to Tarentum. Strategically the Appian version makes more sense; why would Pyrrhus relinquish the territory which he had won? A retreat to Tarentum would, of course, be more favorable to Rome, and Zonaras' version has a decidedly pro-Roman bias in it: Pyrrhus, after being followed by the Romans down through Campania, attempts to make a stand, and has his men hit their shields with their swords and raise a great shout, whereupon the Romans only shout louder, and since the omens are bad, Pyrrhus retreats to Tarentum. Surely a large part of Pyrrhus' forces stayed in Campania for the winter. Frontinus, *Strat.* 4.1.24, says that Laevinius was ordered by the Senate to spend the winter at Saepinium, in the mountains north of Naples on the border of Latium and the Samnite country, on one of the main roads. If Pyrrhus was in northern Campania, perhaps Laevinius was stationed at Saepinium to prevent more allies from joining him; if Pyrrhus' whole army was in Tarentum, it is hard to see why Laevinius did not move further south.

27. For example, negotiations for the return of Roman prisoners were made by Hannibal soon after the battle of Cannae; see Livy 22.52-58.

28. Dionysius 19.13: "when Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots, was leading an army against Rome" may be even too vague to indicate that Dionysius placed

the return of prisoners on Pyrrhus' march to Rome. Eutropius 2.13, Dio 40.29–30/Zonaras 8.4, Plutarch 20, Appian 10.4, all place the Prisoners I *logos* at Pyrrhus' winter quarters. *Periocha* 13 and the *de Vir. Ill.* 35 imply that negotiations occurred after the march on Rome.

29. Justin 18.1: *Ex ea praeda* (which implies immediately after Heracleia) Pyrrhus CC *captiuos milites gratos Romam remisit, ut cognita uirtute eius Romani cognoscerent et liberalitatem.* Justin 18.2: *legatus a senatu Romano Fabricius Luscinius missus pacem cum Pyrrho compositu.*

30. Ennius, fragment 194–201 (Vahlen); see also Skutsch, p. 13, and Vahlen, p. lxviii. The original *logos* probably was that Pyrrhus returned the prisoners without ransom, as in the versions of Justin 18.1; Eutropius 2.13; *de Vir. Ill.* 35; Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.38; and Ennius.

31. The evidence that Fabricius was *legatus* in 280–279 is collected in Broughton, p. 194. Ennius represents Pyrrhus as speaking first to a group, note *dederitis* (194), *uosne* (197), and then as singling out one man, *tu simul accipe dictum* (198). See also Skutsch, p. 13.

32. Cross, p. 116, suggests that the order of the accounts has been altered and that the detail of the *Saturnalia* has been inserted to please "Roman vanity." Wuilleumier's statement, p. 128, that the *Saturnalia* give too precise a date not to be accurate seems somewhat arbitrary; in a tradition so confused as the one about the Pyrrhic war, all such details as numbers and precise dates should be regarded with suspicion; see Hamburger, p. 62, and Lévéque, p. 367.

33. Dionysius, of course, invented his own speeches (see Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen* II [1879], 128 n.34), but it seems unlikely that Dionysius contradicted himself accidentally. Possibly he had access to two different versions and in this way tried to combine the two.

34. It is probable that Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum after Heracleia. Livy, 22.59.7, says that the Roman senate sent legates about the ransoming of prisoners to Tarentum, but Pyrrhus' supposed winter quarters at Tarentum (as in Zonaras 8.3) may be meant. It is impossible to know just what version Livy did give, because all the versions in Eutropius, Zonaras, the *Periocha*, and the *de Vir. Ill.* are different, but since they all combine the two *logoi* it is likely that Livy did. Perhaps the combination of the negotiations about prisoners at Tarentum with the peace negotiations at Pyrrhus' winter quarters explains why Dio/Zonaras put Pyrrhus' winter quarters at Tarentum. See above, n. 26. But the evidence on the whole subject is insufficient.

35. Justin 18.2: *Interea Mago dux Carthaginensium in auxilium Romanorum cum cxx nauibus missus, senatum adiit, aegre tulisse Carthaginenses a affirmans, quod bellum in Italia a peregrino rege paterentur. Ob quam causam missum se, ut quoniā ab extremo hostie oppugnarentur, extremis auxiliis iuarentur. Gratiae a senatu Carthaginensibus actae auxiliaque remissa.* Some modern historians have refused to accept Justin's chronological arrangement of Mago's expedition and have associated it with the treaty of 279 mentioned in Polybius 3.25, though there is no necessity to do so; see above, pp. 155–157. Cross, p. 118 n.2, on the basis of this assumption, states that Pyrrhus' winter quarters in 278, after Ausculum, must have been in Campania, so that Mago could easily stop and see him on his way back to Carthage. Ancient evidence, however, indicates that Pyrrhus' winter quarters for the second winter were in Tarentum; see above, p. 160.

Pyrrhus' winter quarters were in Campania in 279, where it would have been quite feasible for Mago to visit him after his visit to Rome.

36. Valerius Maximus 3.7.10.

37. Polybius 3.25, interpreting *pros Pyrrhon* as "with Pyrrhus"; see Frank William Walbank, *An Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. I (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957) 350–351. Scholars have disagreed over the meaning of this clause, probably because the actual role played by the Carthaginians in the Pyrrhic war was not fully understood; the Greek is relatively straightforward. For a summary of scholarship, see Walbank, pp. 349–351. For an interpretation of the treaty see also Alfred Klotz, "Der römisch-karthagische Vertrag zur Zeit des Pyrrhos," *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* XXVII (1908) 443–445. Polybius dates the treaty *kata Pyrrhou diabasin*, which Klotz proves to mean *diabasin eis Italian*.

38. Polybius mentions three treaties between Rome and Carthage, of which the treaty concerned with Pyrrhus is the third, but according to the *Periocha* 13, after Ausculum *quarto foedus renouatum est*. Giuseppe Nenci, whose article "Il trattato romano-carthaginese kata ten Pyrrhou diabasin" *Historia* VII (1958) 261–299 appeared after the present study was in proof, argues that there were actually two treaties between Rome and Carthage during the Pyrrhic war, the third of the whole series in 280, and a fourth in 278. He dates the treaty recorded by Polybius 3.25 in 280, on the grounds that *kata ten Pyrrhou diabasin* refers specifically to the time of Pyrrhus' landing in Italy (May 280), and he places Mago's expedition to Rome (Justin 18.2) and the treaty mentioned in *Periocha* 13 around the time of the Carthaginian seige of Rhegium (late summer 279, see the text above, p. 156, and below n. 39). Mago's expedition probably took place in 280/279 (see above, p. 157), but some support for the view that Polybius thought of the treaty as falling at the time of Pyrrhus' crossing into Italy in May 280 is given by Walbank (see above n. 37), 349, in his note on Polybius 3.25.1–5, where he cites two instances of the use of *kata ten Pyrrhou diabasin* for events taking place in Olympiad 124 (284/283–281/280 B.C.). However, *kata* generally is used for indefinite rather than precise definitions of time; see Liddell, Scott, Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. 9, 883 B.I.2. The phrase by which Polybius defines the beginning of his history, *apo ton kata Pyrrhon* is not relevant, since *kata* here simply means "concerning." The examples of Polybius' use of the phrase *kata ten Pyrrhou diabasin* with specific meaning are too isolated to exclude the possibility that in 3.25 *kata* has a more general meaning. Nor does the fact that Polybius gives the treaty as the third, while the *Periocha* says that the Rome-Carthage treaty was renewed for a fourth time, seem sufficient to justify two treaties, one in 280, known only to Polybius and regarded by him as the final treaty of the series (*teleutaias synthekes*), and another in 279/278, known only to the *Periocha*. Whether Polybius omitted a treaty or whether the *Periocha* is in error cannot be determined. Despite Nenci's arguments, the simplest solution is still a single treaty concluded around the time of the battle of Ausculum.

39. Diodorus Siculus 22.7.5.

40. Polybius 1.6.5–1.7.6 and the *Periocha* 12 suggest that the affair in Rhegium should be dated before 280. The story is told in Dionysius 20.4–5 and Appian 9.9. The fragment of Dionysius dealing with Rhegium has been misplaced by scholars in Book 20, due to confusion between Fabricius' two consulships.

Fabricius is mentioned in Dionysius in connection with the sending of Decius to Rhegium, but his consulship of 282 is probably meant; see Broughton, p. 189; Philipp, "Regium" in *RE* 2<sup>e</sup> Reihe I (1) 500; and Lévêque, p. 419. However, F. R. Walton, *Diodorus of Sicily* (Loeb Classical Library) vol. XI (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Heinemann, 1957) 45, states that it is not clear which consulship is meant.

41. Rhegium was finally recaptured by the Romans in 274; see Zonaras 8.6.
42. The terms of the treaty make especially good sense after the Romans had refused to accept Pyrrhus' terms. For the advantages of the treaty to both sides, see Frank, *CAH* VII 649–50.
43. Justin 18.2: *Dum haec aguntur* (Mago's expedition to Rome and Pyrrhus) *legatus a senatu Romano Fabricius Luscinus missus pacem cum Pyrrho composuit.*
44. For the dating of the peace negotiations in winter 280/279, see above, p. 155.
45. For Cineas' first mission to Rome, see Dio 40.30–32/Zonaras 8.4; Dionysius 19.13; Plutarch 20; Appian 10.3; Florus 1.13.
46. For Rome's imperialistic aims in the early third century, see Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 59–81. The Romans had offered aid to Thurii, and had thus become involved in war with Tarentum, which city in turn allied with the Lucanians, Samnites, and Messapians, and called in Pyrrhus (pp. 60–63). The original offer to aid Thurii was voted at Rome by a plebiscite, and the plebeian Fabricius had a prominent role in the war (pp. 65–66).
47. For the peace terms see above, pp. 158–159. Both sides may have also been negotiating for peace simply to gain time to build up their forces, a common practice in ancient warfare; see Bickerman, p. 145. Since the Romans had lost the battle of Heracleia, this would probably apply more to them than to Pyrrhus.
48. In Zonaras 8.4 and Plutarch 20, Pyrrhus also tried to frighten Fabricius by showing him an elephant. The story of Pyrrhus' attempt to bribe Fabricius is developed to the full of its rhetorical possibilities in Dionysius 19.13–19. In all the pro-Roman versions Fabricius is offered presents: in Dionysius 19.14, Plutarch 20, and Zonaras 8.4, generalship; in Eutropius 2.13, one fourth of Pyrrhus' kingdom; in Appian 10.4, both.
49. Dionysius 19.15 and Dio 40.33/Zonaras 8.4 give special emphasis to the advantages of being a private citizen. This was, as Tenney Frank points out, the age of great plebeian leaders; see *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 65–66. In Dio 40.23, Pyrrhus even attempts early in the campaign to bribe the prisoners to come over to his side, and in Dio 40.29–30/Zonaras 8.4 he entertains Fabricius lavishly. But in even the most extreme versions Pyrrhus appears to be more generous than base; see especially Plutarch 20: Pyrrhus offered Fabricius presents, "indeed for no base purpose." Hannibal, had he made such bribes, would not have fared as well in later tradition.
50. Zonaras 8.3, Plutarch 18, and Valerius Maximus 4.3.14 all describe Cineas as coming with presents, especially for the women, which perhaps indicates that they were drawing on a common source; see Otto Seel, ed., *Pompeii Trogi Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1956) 130. Justin 18.2, and Diodorus Siculus 22.6.3, just mention gifts. Florus 1.13 represents the extreme of pro-Roman tradition, since Pyrrhus *desperauit armis seque ad dolos contulit*; this is one of the few attributions of morally base motives to Pyrrhus; compare also Valerius Maximus 4.3.14, where Pyrrhus tries *beniuolentiam populi Romani*

*mercari*. No mention is made of this incident in Appian and Eutropius. That Justin mentions the gifts with the Cineas I *logos*, but omits the two pro-Roman *logoi* about Fabricius (those of the bribes and of the doctor), may indicate that the Fabricius *logoi* belong to a different and perhaps slightly later tradition; see also Hamburger, pp. 60–61. The saying “a city of kings” generally attributed to Cineas, again brings out the contrast between democracy and monarchy; see Justin 18.2, Appian 10.3, Plutarch 21, Eutropius 2.13, Florus 1.13.

51. The stipulation about immunity for Tarentum is omitted in the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, and the clause about Rome remaining within the boundaries of Latium is omitted by Appian 10.3.

52. For Eutropius’ version of the peace terms, see Eutropius 2.13. On the meaning of the peace terms in Appian 10.1 and in the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, see Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 82 n.10. Passerini’s statement, *Athenaeum* N.S. XXI (1943) 109 that the terms are “absurd because of their severity” does not seem to take into consideration the fact that Rome, in 280 B.C., had only expanded as far as central Italy, and was the defeated power. The list of allies given by Appian and the *Ineditum Vaticanum* parallels that in Dionysius 20.1.

53. Plutarch 18, Zonaras 8.4, and Florus 1.13 have more pro-Roman versions of the peace terms. For a comparative chart of the peace terms in the various sources, see Lévêque, p. 348. Terms are not mentioned in the *Periocha*, the *de Vir. Ill.*, Orosius, and Dionysius.

54. For Appius Claudius’ speech, see Plutarch 19, Appian 10.2, the *Ineditum Vaticanum*, and Ennius Frag. 202–3 (Vahlen). The speech is mentioned as extant by Cicero, *Brut.* 61 and *de Senec.* 16; by Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 114.13; and compare also Tacitus, *Dialogus* 18. Niese, *Hermes* XXXI (1896) 493 n.6, suggests that only counterfeit copies existed in Cicero’s day; Hamburger, pp. 56–57, and Lévêque, pp. 351–352, believe that the original speech could not possibly have survived and that what Cicero (and later historians) consulted were annalists’ versions. Laistner, p. 25, however, accepts Cicero’s statement at face value. For a full discussion see also F. Münzer, “Appius Claudius Caecus” in *RE* III (6) 2681–2685.

55. Perhaps in Plutarch 19, where Appius Claudius says that it would be disgraceful to serve Macedonia, Appius (or, more likely, Plutarch) is confusing Pyrrhus with Alexander the Great. Pyrrhus himself seems to have been fond of the comparison; see the beginning of Justin 18.1, and Plutarch 8. See also Carl Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1911) 218.

56. Dio/Zonaras 8.4, Eutropius 2.14, Plutarch 19, and Appian 10.2 all represent the Romans as demanding that Pyrrhus should leave Italy.

57. On the treaty between Rome and Carthage, see above, pp. 155–157.

58. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 82 n.10, suggests that Appius Claudius was the leader of the popular, imperialistic party in the Senate. Tradition, however, is silent on this point, and he may simply have been appealing for traditional *Romanitas* against a frightened Senate.

59. Zonaras 8.5 says that Pyrrhus invaded and conquered a large part of Apulia, though there is no archaeological evidence that he occupied Apulia for any length of time; see Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 75–76.

60. Decius Mus, as did his father and grandfather, devoted himself as a human sacrifice to the gods, according to an ancient Roman custom. Most

modern historians have doubted that the third Decius' *deuotio* was successful, for he is mentioned as being alive in 265 B.C. in *de Vir. Ill.* 36.3. All information on the third Decius' *deuotio* has been collected by Louise Adams Holland, "The Purpose of the Warrior Image from Capistrano," *AJA* LX (1956) 245 n.15; see also Axel Boëthius, "Livy 8, 10, 12 and the Warrior Image from Capistrano," *Eranos* LIV (1956) 205. Mrs. Holland suggests that Livy 8.10.13, which tells what to do in case a *deuotio* is not successful, "is one of Livy's frequent preparations for a striking event to come." See also Broughton, p. 193. Professor Skutsch, however, believes that in Ennius, Decius Mus died in the battle of Ausculum. As for the outcome of the battle of Ausculum, according to Justin 18.1, *par fortuna priori bello*; according to the *Periocha*, *dubio euentu*; in Florus the battle was *melius demicatum* from the Roman point of view. Plutarch 21 gives Pyrrhus' losses at only 3505 compared to the Romans' 5000, but Pyrrhus, as at Heracleia, has lost his best men, and his allies are becoming indifferent. The accounts in Dionysius 20.1-3 and Zonaras 8.5, while following the same basic version as Plutarch, make the outcome seem a little worse for Pyrrhus. Orosius 4.1.19-23, *de Vir. Ill.* 35, and Eutropius 2.13 call Ausculum a victory for Rome, for which Eutropius gives the losses as 20,000 for Pyrrhus to 5000 for the Romans. The consuls for the year were P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, but the *de Vir. Ill.* and Florus give Curius as the consul in 275 at Beneventum, and Fabricius, consul in 278; perhaps the prominent roles played by these men in other parts of the war caused the confusion.

61. After Pyrrhus left for Sicily, the Romans attacked the Samnites; see Zonaras 8.5; Eutropius 2.14; Pliny, *N.H.* 9.118; *Periocha* 13; Valerius Maximus 1.8.6; also Broughton, p. 194. Cicero, *de Balbo* 50, believes (*putatur*) that Fabricius may have made a treaty with Heracleia in 278, see Frank, *CAH* VII 650, and also *Roman Imperialism*, p. 77. Plutarch 21, Eutropius 2.13, Zonaras 8.5, and *de Vir. Ill.* 35 all place Pyrrhus' quarters for the winter of 279/278 at Tarentum.

62. Ambassadors came to Pyrrhus from Acragas, Syracuse, and Leontini; see Plutarch 22. Syracuse was under seige by Carthage and had hopes that Pyrrhus would come to her aid; see Diod. Sic. 22.8. Pyrrhus' marriage to Lanassa, daughter of the recently deceased king of Sicily, Agathocles, provided a further justification for his interference in Sicilian affairs; see Plutarch 22, Appian 11.1, Diod. Sic. 22.8.

63. According to Diodorus Siculus 22.8.5 and Dio 40.4/Zonaras 8.2, Pyrrhus had had his eye on Sicily from the very beginning. Both Diodorus and Plutarch 22 mention Pyrrhus' desire to go on to Libya.

64. The reasons for Pyrrhus' delay are obscure. Plutarch says that he did not know if he should take advantage instead of an opportunity to become king of Macedonia. In Appian 11.1, Pyrrhus is eager to go to Sicily but feels he must wait for a good pretext to make peace with the Romans, a pretext eventually provided by the doctor incident. Zonaras explains the delay by a different chronology: Pyrrhus prepares to fight the Romans, but decides not to when he learns that Fabricius has been elected consul; the doctor incident occurs, and only thereafter, in the spring of 278, do the Sicilian envoys come. Zonaras' version seems almost too flattering to the Romans. Plutarch's and Appian's chronology seems more likely, especially if Pyrrhus had long intended to go to Sicily; the Carthaginians were concerned about this possibility as early as the

winter of 280/279, and his decision to depart would not have been as sudden an affair as Zonaras represents it. Modern scholarship has tended to accept Plutarch's interpretation; see Schubert, p. 207; Niese, p. 498; Hamburger, p. 76; Wuilleumier, p. 131; Lévêque, pp. 420–423.

65. Claudius' version is cited by Aulus Gellius 3.8, and is perhaps the source of Plutarch 21, Appian 11.1.4, Zonaras 8.5, *Periocha* 13, Eutropius 2.14, Florus 1.13. The doctor incident is not mentioned in Orosius and only in one manuscript of *de Vir. Ill.* which quotes Eutropius; see Franz Pichlmayr, ed., *Sext. Aureli Victoris Liber de Caesaribus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1911) *ad loc.* Florus, probably for the sake of a good rhetorical antithesis, has Curius return the doctor; for Florus' mistaken dating of Curius' consulship; see above, n. 60.

66. Pyrrhus' remark in Eutropius: *ille est Fabricius, qui difficilis ab honestate quam sol a suo cursu auerti potest* typifies the general tone of all the *Fabricius logoi* (see above, pp. 154–155). Valerius Antias' version is compared to Claudius' in Aul. Gell. 3.8; Valerius calls the doctor Timochares instead of Nicias. Although Plutarch 21, and Zonaras 8.5 call the doctor Nicias, he is unnamed in Appian 11.1 and the other Livian sources, which may indicate that these last were familiar with both versions and wished to avoid committing themselves. Amm. Marc. 30.1.22 mentions both names. Cicero, *de Off.* 3.86, says that Fabricius was praised by the Senate for his action; in *de Off.* 1.40, bracketed in most texts, he says that the doctor was returned by Fabricius and the Senate. In *de Fin.* 5.64, the sentence: *nostri consules regem inimicissimum moenibus iam appropinquantem monuerunt a ueneno ut caueret* seems to contain elements of both versions, and would seem to date the incident during Pyrrhus' march to Rome in 279. This may be exaggeration for effect; compare Amm. Marc. 30.1.22: *quod Pyrrhum Italiam tunc bellis saeuissimis exurentem*; or perhaps evidence that this *logos* was not originally fixed to any particular time, and only in later tradition associated with events after Ausculum.

67. In Plutarch 22 and Appian 11.1, Cineas' second mission is connected to the doctor *logos* by a single *kai*; Zonaras 8.5 makes the second peace mission a direct result of the doctor incident: "Fabricius' action so amazed the king that he again released the Roman captives without price and sent envoys once more in regard to peace."

68. For the pro-Roman version of the peace terms, see above, pp. 158–159.

69. Compare the Cineas II *logos* in Appian 11.1 with the Cineas I *logos* in Justin 18.2 and Plutarch 18; see above, n. 50.

70. Compare the Prisoners II *logos* in Zonaras 8.5 to the Prisoners I *logos* in Dionysius 19.18.

71. The doctor, Cineas II, and Prisoners II *logoi* may have been omitted by Justin because of the brevity of his account. However, since he usually reproduces anything treated as important in Trogus, these events probably were either relatively insignificant or omitted altogether in Trogus' original work. Without the pro-Roman coloring given by the doctor incident, the prisoner and peace negotiations might seem fairly routine.

72. Cross, pp. 118–119, Wuilleumier, pp. 127–131, and Niese, p. 483, all assume the two sets of negotiations are doublets. Judeich, pp. 11–18, who maintained that they were not, thought it necessary to rearrange the chronology to Cineas II–Doctor–Prisoners II, because of the Carthaginian treaty; see his

chronological table on p. 18. Lévéque, pp. 406–409; Frank, *CAH* VII 646, 648; and Hamburger, p. 45, accept both Cineas missions.

73. For Pyrrhus' garrison in Italy, see Zonaras 8.5 and Plutarch 22.

74. For Fabricius as the exponent of *uitute experiamur* in Roman tradition see Aulus Gellius' conclusion to his citation of Claudius' version of the doctor incident in 3.8: *nobis non placet pretio aut praemio aut dolis pugnare*. This appears in Zonaras 8.5 as: "For he (Fabricius) thought it better to conquer the enemy by courage and might, as did Camillus." Compare also Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 120.6: *eiusdem animi fuit auro non uinci, ueneno non uincere*, referring to both *logoi* about Fabricius, and Tacitus, *Annals* 2.88. In Zonaras' account (8.3) of the Fabricius-Pyrrhus *logos* in 280/279, Fabricius says to Pyrrhus: "Why then must we talk idly, when it will be decided by our ancestor Ares?" See also Frontinus, *Strat.* 4.4.2 and Plutarch, *Mor.* 195.

75. On Pyrrhus' impulsive character, see Lévéque, p. 420, and Plutarch 8. It is not necessarily axiomatic that an epic hero cannot change his mind; Achilles states in *Iliad* bk. 22 that he will never return Hector's body, but he gives it to Priam in bk. 24. It is true that Aeneas, although almost diverted by Dido, remains true to his purpose, but Aeneas is the hero of an entire epic, while Pyrrhus was the central figure in only one book of Ennius' *Annals*, a work, moreover, based primarily on historical events rather than on myth. But compare Skutsch, p. 13.

76. Plutarch's account of Fabricius' mission about the prisoners is given in *Pyrrhus* 20; the doctor incident, the Prisoners II and Cineas II *logoi* (the direct results of the doctor's return) follow in 21.1.

77. The battles are mentioned in Justin 18.1; the negotiations follow immediately in 18.2.

78. With the phrase *interiectis deinde diebus*, in Justin 18.1.11, compare *interiectis diebus* in 22.8.7 and Tacitus' use in *Ann.* 14.64 and 15.29 of *dein paucis diebus interiectis* to mean "a short time later," where *paucis* means "short." See also Niese, p. 488 n.2, Cross, pp. 117–118.

79. For the dating of Rome's negotiations with Carthage, see above, pp. 155–157. Justin's chronology is criticized by Cross, pp. 117–118, Hamburger, p. 51, and Lévéque, pp. 415–418, all of whom date Mago's visit in 278.

80. On the lack of support for Niese's view, see above, p. 148, and n. 4.

81. Festus' account, p. 214 (Lindsay), is a commentary on two lines of the comic poet Titinius:

Haec quidem quasi Osculana pugna est (hau) secus  
quia\* in fugere polsi hinc spolia colligunt.

The spelling "Osculana" is presumably meant to be a pun on *osculum*, a word not related etymologically to *Ausculum*; confusion between *au* and *o* only occurs in later Latin; see Joshua Whatmough, *Poetic, Scientific, and Other Forms of Discourse* (Sather Classical Lectures XXIV; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956) 49; Friederich Stoltz and J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Munich, Beck, 1900) 46. Inscriptions indicate that *Ausculum* is the correct spelling for the name of the town in Apulia, though it was often confused with the Picene town *Asculum*; see the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. II, 1536.

82. On the confusion of the battle of Heracleia with that of Ausculum in ancient writers, see above, n. 22.

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## THE SONG OF SILENUS

BY ZEPH STEWART

ON a first reading the sixth Eclogue of Virgil's *Bucolics*<sup>1</sup> appears to flow along with a more than usually deceptive simplicity. In a graceful introduction of twelve lines the poet explains why he is not writing to celebrate the military exploits of Varus, but assures him that the dedication of a pastoral poem will bring him sufficient renown. He proceeds at once to tell of two young shepherds who, joined and aided by the nymph Aegle, playfully and a little nervously bind Silenus in his own wreaths as he sleeps. They have found him lying in a cave resting from the revels of the night before. Silenus wakes and with a laugh agrees to buy his freedom with the song which he has long promised them. Even the natural and supernatural world is affected as he begins to sing more wondrously than Apollo on Parnassus or Orpheus in the mountains of Thrace: tree-tops sway, and fauns and wild beasts dance to the rhythm. Here (31) begins the main body of the Eclogue, a description of the content of his song. First, says Virgil (using the language of "scientific" poetry, full of Lucretian echoes), he told of the formation of the universe and the beginnings of life. Then followed a series, almost a catalogue, of varied myths and legends, some barely mentioned in Virgil's account, others developed at some length. Without special introduction, as if it did not differ from the other stories, there came a passage on Virgil's contemporary Cornelius Gallus, telling how, as he was wandering by the streams of Permessus, one of the Muses led him into the Aonian mountains, and the gathered divinities of poetry respectfully presented him with the pipes which once belonged to Hesiod. Two more myths followed, and there is allusion to a third in the five lines which close the Eclogue as gracefully as it began.

Such is the content of the sixth Eclogue and of the song of Silenus. Two preliminary observations are appropriate. First, the song is divided by certain words and expressions (*hinc, his adiungit, tum, quid loquar, omnia*) into distinct sections. There has been fairly general agreement in modern times regarding the points of division. Second, the whole song, with one important exception (47-60), is presented in the third person. The effort is not so much to reproduce what Silenus sang as merely to give an account of the subject-matter. Now it is just this account, with its marked divisions, which has aroused more controversy

and speculation than any comparable section of Virgil's work except the fourth Eclogue. Discussion has centered upon the scheme, if one exists, behind the choice of content and has seized especially upon the two passages which seem comparatively isolated from the rest and from each other, the "philosophical" cosmogony and zoogony at the beginning and the paramythical compliment to Gallus in the middle.

This paper has two distinct, though related, purposes. On the one hand I shall try to demonstrate the rationale governing the choice and presentation of Silenus' repertory. All but the most prosaic or inaccurate interpreters have always seen the correct line of approach and in recent years have come toward a piecemeal measure of agreement. My effort will be in large part to bring together, to correct, and to supplement what has been done, but at the same time to show that every part of the song can be included in a balanced system. This demonstration, on the other hand, will illustrate in a comparatively simple and easily apprehensible form an important and pervasive characteristic of Virgil's writing which has often been misunderstood or neglected: his tendency to combine features from more than one source into a single figure or unity. It is this characteristic — whether one calls it symbolism or integration,<sup>2</sup> a literary technique or a way of looking at the world — which has confused discussions of Virgilian allegory, has led to conflicting explanations of words and passages, and at the same time has provided critics with some of their most felicitous material. Here it will serve to clarify the purpose of Silenus' song, but its validity is quite independent of my approach to the sixth Eclogue.

There is no need for a detailed critique of the schemes which have been suggested to explain the song. Cartault discussed with his usual good sense the more important ones which preceded his work (1897), while a recent survey (1955) gives the details of subsequent efforts.<sup>3</sup> Most writers, further, pointed out the inadequacies of their predecessors. So the present discussion can profitably assume the critical pruning which has been done and present the principal lines of interpretation in a more schematic form, without much attention to individual variations.

(1) Servius' suggestion is in some ways the least satisfactory. Basing his total view on the opening section, which he treated as an Epicurean document (*ad* 31), he saw the myths as a further sign of that school or merely as a delight for the boys: *sed dicimus aut exprimere eum uoluisse sectam Epicuream, quae rebus seriis semper inserit uoluptates, aut fabulis plenis admirationis puerorum corda mulceri: nam fabulae causa delectationis inuentae sunt* (*ad* 41). This inane solution gives no reason for the choice

of stories, nor did its author note that the later appearance of Gallus then needed special explanation. Though many, like Servius and like Junius Philargyrius (*ad* 31–32), have considered the opening lines Epicurean, of modern scholars only Frank (1922) and (diffusely) Rostagni (1932) have followed Servius' subsequent interpretation.<sup>4</sup> Their approach becomes utterly untenable if, as it appears, the opening section is not Epicurean (see below, pp. 183–186).

(2) Others have used the mythological sections as their point of departure. Some support has been found for a view of Donatus (*Vita* 68 Hagen, 309 Brummer) that the Eclogue is essentially a series of metamorphoses. He was followed by Kettner (1878), Kolster (1880), and Sonntag (1891).<sup>5</sup> But the Gallus passage and the cosmogony barely fit such a view, and the stories of Prometheus, of Pasiphaë, and of Atalanta not at all. Schaper (1876) and Flach (1878) viewed the myths and the mention of Gallus as examples of the power of Eros.<sup>6</sup> But then the opening passage is an isolated introduction, and there is no reason for the stories of Deucalion and of Prometheus. Hammer (1919) and Jachmann (1923) in effect abandoned a unitary explanation: the former, dividing the myths into two groups (metamorphoses and non-metamorphoses), considered the cosmogony a prelude and was so baffled by the Gallus passage that he concluded that it had been inserted in a second edition; the latter traced a complex scheme based in the early sections on chronology and in the later on love-themes and metamorphoses. He explained the resulting isolation of the Gallus passage as emphasis of the compliment which is represented.<sup>7</sup>

(3) The lines devoted to Gallus have provided a starting point in this century for several formulas. F. Skutsch (1901) concluded that everything which Silenus sang was a summary, a kind of catalogue, of the works of Cornelius Gallus.<sup>8</sup> Since his explanation occurred in a book written particularly to show that Gallus was the author of the *Ciris*, it did not bear the same scrutiny and attack as his main thesis. Leo outlined the most telling objections in his first critique, and Skutsch himself somewhat de-emphasized this aspect of his argument in his later work.<sup>9</sup> A major inconsequence of the theory, not much stressed at the time, was the idea that a poem dedicated to one contemporary, Varus, should be entirely concerned with another contemporary, Gallus. The relation of the recipient to the rest of the poem need not be great, but it would be of sufficient moment to exclude Skutsch's view.<sup>10</sup> So far as I know, no one has ever accepted it (save one or two early reviewers), although it seems to have made a special impression on British scholars.<sup>11</sup> The idea that the song is a catalogue of works by someone closely

connected with Gallus was taken up, however. Némethy (1909) suggested Euphorion, Herrmann (1930) Parthenius.<sup>12</sup> Both based their arguments ultimately on pure conjecture. Rose (1942) thought the Gallus episode Virgil's central example of the interference of the gods in human affairs, seeing the poem as a warning or appeal to Alfenus Varus (in connection with land distribution at Mantua). But he was obliged to neglect the cosmogony entirely.<sup>13</sup>

Each of these three approaches, starting with one section of the song, either has been unsupported by evidence or has foundered on at least one other section. Certain major divisions emerge which have proved mutually intractable: the cosmogony, the myths (including several metamorphoses), and the Gallus passage. The principal requirement for any scheme must be that it include them all in some kind of balance. It was in despair of finding an underlying rationale that Cartault (1897) supposed the various subjects of the song to represent chance favorites in Virgil's reading: the fifth book of Lucretius suggested the opening passage, the beginning of Hesiod's theogony the Gallus episode, Theocritus' fourth Idyll the allusion to Atalanta, unknown epyllia and metamorphoses other sections.<sup>14</sup> Though it was vague and left much unexplained, his suggestion had two advantages. It was inclusive and not inherently improbable. Others in increasing number have proposed similar formulas in a more positive vein. Recasting, apparently unwittingly, an earlier suggestion of Krause (1884), Vollmer (1906) saw in the subject-matter of the song a survey of poetic themes awaiting treatment by Latin authors and in the mention of Gallus an element that was merely "gelegenlich."<sup>15</sup> The song he took, then, to be an explanation of the refusal to write an epic on the deeds of Varus. The effectiveness of this reasonable, but undeveloped, idea might have been greatly heightened by some further explanation of "gelegenlich." Hoping to strengthen and particularize Vollmer's scheme, Witte (1922) attempted to show that none of the suggested subjects (except Gallus' Grynian grove) had at that time been treated by Latin poets — a view which had been expressly rejected by Vollmer.<sup>16</sup> Quite apart from the quixotic difficulty of proving what had *not* been written, he was obviously embarrassed by the Lucretian echoes in the cosmogony. Van Berchem (1946), trying to demonstrate that Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* had not been published until 43–41 B.C., reversed Witte's idea and called the song a kind of catalogue of works which had recently appeared in Rome.<sup>17</sup> Though avoiding Witte's principal stumbling block, he was himself involved in a curious circular argument: the only poem besides Gallus' which he could identify in the collection was the one whose date

of publication he was trying to establish. As he pointed out, Leo (1902) had suggested the possibility that this was a catalogue of immediate topical interest. But Leo had rightly said that such a thesis was in the nature of things unverifiable.<sup>18</sup> Recently (1955) three interpreters came independently to conclusions about the poem which follow these same general lines. After investigating the literary pedigree of several passages, Evenhuis appeared to follow Vollmer in thinking the song a "breathtaking" survey of themes suitable for poetic treatment, but viewed the Gallus episode as the introduction of a poet whom Virgil considered worthy to undertake the task. In this latter point and in his view of the arrangement he closely followed Jachmann.<sup>19</sup> Becker briefly treated the list as a kind of catalogue of literary themes and episodes — ranging from philosophy to a poet's consecration — which could be brought, under the powerful guidance of Apollo, into the framework of bucolic poetry.<sup>20</sup> And Büchner, after a more detailed discussion, came to almost exactly the same formulation.<sup>21</sup> Directing attention once again to the emphasis and background of the piece, O. Skutsch (1956) pointed out characteristics taken from specifically Alexandrian sources and called the whole poem a "catalogue of Alexandrian themes."<sup>22</sup>

It is evident that scholars have increasingly taken for granted what is certainly the only balanced and inclusive view of the song — that it is a literary catalogue of some kind. Yet those systems have been least satisfactory which link it most closely to particular publications or persons (other than Virgil). The proper solution almost imposes itself: the song is a survey of types of poetry, especially — perhaps solely — types for which Rome had inherited a taste from Alexandria. The fact has been obscured by piecemeal observation of individual points and neglect of the clear division of the poem into separate parts. No one since F. Skutsch has methodically examined Silenus' recitation by sections. If one does so, it appears that within each division a genre of poetry is represented, indicated in part by subject and in part by treatment. The generic quality is preserved by mixed allusions (to different works) and avoidance of dependence on a single work or author. The method is so clear in the opening section that one can hope to demonstrate it as well in those which follow.

(1)      *Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta  
semina terrarumque animae marisque fuissent  
et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis  
omnia et ipse tener mundi concreuerit orbis;*

tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto  
 coeperit et rerum paulatim sumere formas;  
 iamque nouum terrae stupeant lucescere solem,  
 altius atque cadant summotis nubibus imbres;  
 incipient siluae cum primum surgere, cumque  
 rara per ignaros errent animalia montis.

(31-40)<sup>23</sup>

The verbal reminiscences of Lucretius were noted in part by Macrobius (6.2.22-24, 4.11, 5.4) and have been discussed too often to need repetition.<sup>24</sup> The evident stylistic dependence led very early, however, to the view that the passage was equally dependent on Lucretius or Epicurus in doctrine. Servius (*ad* 31), at pains to bridge the obvious gap between the two Epicurean elements, atoms and void, and the four substances mentioned here, described an intermediate step of *syntheta* or *composita* — which are found neither in Lucretius nor in Virgil. But in speaking of Empedocles he quoted Lucretius' summary of his adversary's theory, *ex igni terra atque anima procrescere et imbri* (1.715), not noting that it was among those lines especially echoed in Virgil's account. It has been observed more than once that in at least two respects the passage reproduces traits from Empedocles which are quite at odds with Epicurean theory.<sup>25</sup> Even the ancient commentator known as "Probus" in a long and diffuse note (*ad* 31) described the teaching as Empedoclean (and Stoic). The clearest trait is the prominent assumption of four elements—earth, air, water, and fire—and the slight distinction given to fire.<sup>26</sup> It is important to insist on this assumption, for in the first phrase the word *semina*, as in Lucretius, might be used even by an Epicurean of the atoms which make up earth, air, water, fire, or anything else. Lucretius' sentence, *propterea fit uti... tandem conueniant ea quae conuecta repente magnarum rerum fiunt exordia saepe, terri maris et caeli generisque animantium* (5.427ff.), has occasionally been quoted to support such a view (*exordia*=atoms).<sup>27</sup> But *his primis* in Virgil's next phrase, again meaning "elements" and referring to what has just preceded, leaves no escape from the Empedoclean formulation. Nor is there any saving ambiguity of technical terms: *prima* is used in Lucretius only three times as a substantive, always meaning "elemental constituents" (atoms), quite clearly so in the phrase echoed here: *quod ex illis sunt omnia primis* (1.61).<sup>28</sup> The second Empedoclean trait is the order of events in the creation of the universe. Lucretius repeats quite accurately what is known from other sources to have been the Democritean and Epicurean view: first the heavy parts settled toward a center, and then the fiery elements were pressed outward to form the

vault of the sky.<sup>29</sup> Empedocles' cosmogony, however, proceeded in reverse order: first the sky was formed, and then the heavier parts coalesced to make the earth, from which the sea was exuded. As Voss observed, *tener mundi orbis* in our passage refers to the sky, and the order of events corresponds therefore exactly to that in Empedocles.<sup>30</sup>

Can one then consider the passage purely Empedoclean? On the contrary, quite apart from the distinctly Lucretian terminology, the mention of space, *magnum inane*, marks an Epicurean element which was specifically denied by Empedocles (*FVS<sup>5</sup>* 31 B 13, 14). Although *concreuerit*, further, can represent a form of *συστρέφεσθαι* or *πυκνοῦσθαι*, both common in cosmogonic accounts (*FVS<sup>5</sup>* Index s.vv.), *durare* appears to translate *στρεποῦσθαι*, a verb characteristic of the Democritean-Epicurean tradition and not of others.<sup>31</sup> These first six lines, therefore, cannot be assigned *in toto* to either system. By taking traits from different, partly opposed, doctrines Virgil has made a new formulation which represents "scientific" poetry in general, not one school or one work. This is a method which he was to use elsewhere to a similar end. Near the conclusion of the second book of the *Georgics*, praising above all others those poets who knew and described the secrets of nature, he referred quite clearly at one point to Lucretius (and Epicurean doctrine):

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,  
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum  
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis auari.

(490–92)

But in closely preceding lines there had appeared an equally clear reference to Empedocles' theory that the power of thought was located especially in the blood about the heart (*αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιον ἔστι νόημα FVS<sup>5</sup>* 31 B 105) and affected by superabundance of coldness or heat:<sup>32</sup>

sin has ne possim naturae accedere partis  
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis . . .

(483–84)

The Epicureans indeed located the center of intelligence in the chest, but connected it in no way with the blood.<sup>33</sup> Here again Virgil mixed his references in order to show that he meant the poet of natural philosophy in general, not one particular poet. One might note too that earlier lines, 477–78, are more applicable to Aratus than to either Lucretius or Empedocles, adding a third facet to the description.<sup>34</sup>

Even interpreters who have proceeded along Epicurean lines have seen that the end of our passage, with its vaguely defined reference to the beginnings of life, does not follow Lucretius at all closely. Both he and Empedocles had been quite specific and detailed in this matter. There appears to be allusion to still another cosmogonic tradition, one which had been adumbrated earlier. As many scholars since Ursinus have observed, much of the setting of Silenus' song — the virtuoso performance, the intent audience — resembles the recitation of Orpheus in the first book of Apollonius' *Argonautica*. Not only are the setting and subject-matter the same, but even the word-order, and the tense and construction of the verb: ἦσθε δὲ τόποι γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἥδε θάλασσα... ἥδε τόπος... (496ff.). Here too is the vague reference to the beginning of animal life: . . . καὶ ἐρπετὰ πάντα ἔγενοντο (502) — and similar omission of any special mention of mankind. A passage in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (2.467–73) is very similar, and the opening of his *Metamorphoses* (1.5–88) provides parallels. In both, as in Apollonius, there are strong echoes of Empedocles followed by the sudden and unexplained appearance of animal life. This tradition, called variously Stoic and Neo-Pythagorean, is scientific (as opposed to mythological), but distinct from that of Lucretius or Empedocles.<sup>35</sup>

Such then are the quite diverse elements which make up the first section of Silenus' song.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that still other sources would be recognizable if more Hellenistic and early Latin literature had survived. It should be remembered that one reason this passage has seemed to many modern critics to refer exclusively to Lucretius is that the *De Rerum Natura* is the only work with which we can compare it. If we could read such works as Varro's or Egnatius' *De Rerum Natura*, and especially Sallustius' *Empedoclea* — mentioned by Cicero in the same letter in which he spoke of Lucretius (*QFr.* 2.9) — our judgment might be somewhat modified.<sup>37</sup>

(2) hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,  
Caucasiasque refert uolucris furtumque Promethei.  
(41-42)

This section contrasts with the preceding one both in content and in manner of presentation. It is a bald summary of subject-matter, allusive, intent on presenting the facts without much artistic development. They are tales of the earliest ages of man and by implication (Saturn, and the punishment of Prometheus) of the generations of the gods. Servius (*ad* 41 and 42) was considerably exercised to show that

the stories were chronologically all out of order: Saturn came before Pyrrha, and Pyrrha was later than Prometheus, while Prometheus' theft preceded his punishment. Modern critics have explained the disorder as an example of elaborate *hysteron proteron*. To name a figure of style is not to show its purpose, however, and the complication, which is too great to pass merely as variation, has seemed pointless. But if the author's intention was to present stories typical of a genre of poetry, the lack of chronology has some meaning: he was interested in them as random examples, not in their chronological connections. The poetic type exemplified is one of the several branches of didactic poetry closely associated with the name of Hesiod, genealogical and mythological tales of the origins and early history of mankind.<sup>38</sup> The story of Prometheus' theft of fire is found in both of Hesiod's extant major works (*Op.* 50–52, *Theog.* 565–67) and that of his punishment in one of them (*Theog.* 521–25). At the beginning of the *Works and Days* the golden age of Saturn's reign — *οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἡσαν, ὅ τούρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν* (*Op.* 111) — opens the second myth of mankind's decline which balances that of Prometheus.

Hesiod, though he was the model of genealogical and theological poetry and was considered very often the source from which its details all derived, was not alone in the tradition. The Homeric catalogue of women (*Od.* 11.225–329) and in some respects the catalogue of ships and units (*Il.* 2.484–760, 816–77) were prominent contemporary parallels.<sup>39</sup> Later writers continued the work, not only Asius, Cinaethon, and the authors of the Hesiodic pseudepigrapha, but also those who used the genealogies within another framework, on the one hand Pindar and on the other the Hellenistic poets of local histories and traditions. It has been observed often enough that the presiding genii of Hellenistic poetry were Hesiod and Euripides, the former (one may oversimplify) for the manner and the learned detail, the latter for the emotional and romantic coloring.<sup>40</sup> Pindar's eminent position in that period as a "learned" poet, the successor of Hesiod, has not been sufficiently noted.<sup>41</sup> He was among the most read, most annotated, and therefore of course most imitated authors in Alexandria, not only for his imagination and "sublimity" — the Renaissance interests which have shaped our own — but for his genealogical, geographical, and mythological learning. It should be remembered, for example, that he was an important source for Strabo and Timaeus,<sup>42</sup> that Lycophron's obscurity was attributed to his influence,<sup>43</sup> and that he was one of the principal sources, with Hesiod, for scholiastic commentaries.

The story of Pyrrha, Deucalion, and the repopulation of the earth

after the flood does not appear in Hesiod's extant works, a surprising omission, perhaps, in view of the widespread popularity of the legend in Greece.<sup>44</sup> Nor is the name of Pyrrha or a clear reference to the legend to be found in the Hesiodic fragments.<sup>45</sup> One might even suspect, from the impenetrable vagueness surrounding Pyrrha's origin and background, that her story was not fixed by any early literary tradition.<sup>46</sup> The earliest account, and the *locus classicus*, appears in Pindar's ninth *Olympian* (66–71 H.). In the arrangement of content this section is therefore similar to that which preceded it. Before two prominent stories from Hesiod Virgil placed the most famous legend of its kind which was not primarily associated with Hesiod but appeared elsewhere in the same tradition. The Prometheus story, in turn, was not found in Pindar. The abrupt and allusive style of the lines and the rapid series of references reflect the genealogical style. One recalls Quintilian's judgment: *raro assurgit Hesiodus, magna pars eius in nominibus est occupata* (*Inst.Or.* 10.1.52). And the *hysteron proteron* of Prometheus' punishment and theft reproduces the order in the *Theogony*.

(3) his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum  
 clamassent, ut litus 'Hyla, Hyla' omne sonaret;

45 et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent,  
 Pasiphaen niuei solatur amore iuuenci.  
 a, uirgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit!  
 Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros,  
 at non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta  
 concubitus, quamuis collo timuisset aratrum,  
 et saepe in leui quaesisset cornua fronte.  
 a, uirgo infelix, tu nunc in montibus erras:  
 ille latus niueum molli fultus hyacintho  
 ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas

55 aut aliquam in magno sequitur grege. 'claudite, Nymphae,  
 Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus,  
 si qua forte ferant oculis sese obuia nostris  
 errabunda bouis uestigia; forsitan illum  
 aut herba captum uiridi aut armenta secutum  
 perducant aliquae stabula ad Gortynia uaccae.'

(43–60)

It looks at the beginning of this long section as if the poet intended to continue with his two-line divisions, assigning one to the story of Hylas and the other, connected by a simple *et*, to that of Pasiphaë. The reference to Hylas might in itself suggest the Argonauts and an heroic

epic tradition older than the *Odyssey* (9.70), but the link with Pasiphaë leaves no doubt that the genre represented here is the short epic, called in modern times epyllion. One of the favorite forms of Hellenistic poetry, it was often devoted, like so much literature of the period, to tales of tragic love. Here, as in elegiacs, one might especially expect to find the Alexandrian combination of learning and pathos which was imitated by the Latin *neoterici*. The popularity of the Hylas story is well attested. Virgil himself was to use it in the *Georgics* (3.6) as an example of a worn poetic theme; Apollonius' (1.1207–1355) and Theocritus' (13.5–75) versions are extant; the scholia on Apollonius (*ad* 1.1236) and Theocritus (*ad* 13.6) mention other treatments.<sup>47</sup> The interest in Pasiphaë's affliction — inferred for the Hellenistic period from prose references, Latin imitations, and works of art rather than attested for known authors — was another part of the wide legacy of Euripides, who had treated the story in his *Cretae*.<sup>48</sup> As we have come to expect, the tales seem not to be associated together with a single author.

In the Hylas section there is suggestion of two characteristics of the epyllion, pathos and pedantic concern for exact local detail, the latter often combined with an aetiological interest. The first is marked by the pathetic cry, *Hyla, Hyla*, which serves the same purpose here as the interjections (*a, heu*) which are often found in this style. The second is indicated by the rather curious indirect question which introduces the story. As F. Skutsch saw, it comes from learned localizing of legend and consequent dispute over detail.<sup>49</sup> A parallel dispute can be seen in the discussion in the *Ciris* (54–91) of the correct version of the legend of Scylla. The scholarly — historical and geographical — origin of many of these stories is clear from the source-headings in Parthenius (e.g., *Narr. Amat.* 6, 9, 11, 29). In *Hyla, Hyla*, furthermore, there is an aetiological element, as we learn from Servius (*ad* 43) and elsewhere: the story explained a ritual calling of Hylas in Mysia.<sup>50</sup> There is an exact parallel in the calling of Rhesus at the end of Parthenius' final *Narratio Amatoria* (36).<sup>51</sup>

Abruptness and brevity were quite in keeping with the Hesiodic style of the preceding section, but in this division of the poem it was not possible to move on so quickly. Two lines are a factual, if pathetically colored (*fortunatam si . . . , solatur*) reference to the story of Pasiphaë.<sup>52</sup> They balance the Hylas story with one of the most lurid examples of Hellenistic interest in the violent and unnatural power of tragic Eros. But pausing, as if overpowered by the memory of her fate, Virgil then breaks through the third-person frame of the poem and continues with a sample of the language and method used in treating this kind of subject.

The passage is skillfully divided into three distinct parts with a striking increase of psychological intensity or close-up: two lines of mere statement, eight and a half lines of address to the pathetic queen, five and a half lines of quotation of her distracted words.<sup>53</sup> Every mark of Alexandrian treatment is here: apostrophe, quotation, pathetic interjection, repetition (*a virgo infelix, claudite, Nymphae*), even the suggestion of a learned digression in the long reference to the daughters of Proetus.<sup>54</sup> Line 47 reflects and partly repeats a line from Virgil's second Eclogue, universally considered an early work, partly because of its close dependence on Theocritus: *a, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!* (69). It in turn was modeled on the lament of Theocritus' Cyclops: ὁ Κύκλωψ Κύκλωψ, πᾶς τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι; (11.72). Critics have occasionally been puzzled, however, by the statement of Servius Danielis (*ad* 47) that the phrase *a virgo infelix* was taken from the *Io* of Calvus, itself presumably an hexameter poem in the Alexandrian manner. But this is a piece of information which accords exactly with our analysis of the preceding sections. If this passage is not an outline of an actual work, but a sample of the genre, then it is not surprising to find a phrase from Calvus side by side with one repeated from Virgil which had been intended in turn to suggest a line of Theocritus. Once again there is a blend of specific sources in an effort to produce the typical.

Since an Eclogue of Virgil and an Idyll of Theocritus have been adduced as models, it may forestall misunderstanding to note that the term "epyllion" is more a modern convenience than an ancient word or, for that matter, concept.<sup>55</sup> It is in some ways an inconvenience, for it sets up distinctions — from "idyll," for example — which can be misleading. If Callimachus said that long epics should no longer be attempted, he hardly meant that shorter ones were to be a new poetic type. The story of Hylas appeared in both kinds, as part of Apollonius' long epic and as a separate short subject by Theocritus, perhaps in conscious answer. Possibly that is one reason why Virgil used it here. Virgil's contemporaries and predecessors would have rightly included under a single heading poems in the same meter dealing in a similar manner with a similar theme, a Theocritean Idyll on Hylas or the Cyclops, the *Io* of Calvus, the *Ciris*, Cinna's *Zmyrna*, Euphorion's *Hyacinthus*, very possibly even (through Theocritus' mediation) Virgil's second Eclogue. They differed perhaps from elegiacs in having a single story as their subject rather than a connected series.<sup>56</sup> Even so, it might reflect ancient views more accurately to characterize the passage by its subject-matter, tragic love, than by its meter or such a word as "epyllion."

(4)      tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam;  
      tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae  
      corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos.

(61–63)

The juxtaposition of the stories of Atalanta and of Phaëthon and the unusual form of presentation (*circumdat, erigit*) in the second are puzzling. Atalanta's races and eventual defeat by Hippomenes were mentioned by Theocritus (3.40–42) and often elsewhere, while the tale of Phaëthon's fateful chariot ride appeared in every type of literature (though not in Theocritus). The solution — and it solves the formal problem as well — seems to be provided by a passage in Ovid's *Tristia* (2.383–406). There one finds a catalogue of characters in tragedy whose fate was involved particularly with love, and among them *Schoeneia virgo* (399), Atalanta. Editors have not failed to point out Ovid's supposed confusion in identifying this Boeotian Atalanta with another, an Arcadian daughter of Iasios, who joined Meleager in the Calydonian hunt and was later defeated in a race by Milanion.<sup>57</sup> It was this other Atalanta, we are told, who figured in tragedies concerned with Meleager. Any attempt, however, to distinguish the two figures (or the Argive and Skiran Atalantas either, for that matter) falls to the ground in view of so complete a confusion of the stories that it may well reflect an original identity.<sup>58</sup> The evidence is abundant, and it is quite clear that an allusion to Atalanta would conjure up in Hellenistic times both the story of the hunt and that of the race. It is in fact quite likely that Ovid refers in his catalogue, by simply naming her, to both. Virgil generalizes similarly, it should be noted, by leaving her opponent unidentified (unlike Theocritus, who named Hippomenes). Euripides had associated her in his *Meleager* pre-eminently with that hero, differing probably from Sophocles' treatment in his tragedy of the same name.<sup>59</sup> What the central point of Aeschylus' or of Aristias' *Atalante* was, or of the *Atalanta* of Pacuvius and of Gracchus, cannot be determined.<sup>60</sup> And even Accius' *Meleager* has been thought to reflect Sophocles rather than Euripides.<sup>61</sup> Our scanty knowledge of ancient drama is sufficient, however, to document the importance in tragedy which is suggested for Atalanta by Ovid's allusion. Phaëthon had of course no place in a catalogue of tragedies of erotic theme, but his right to represent the genre is perfectly clear. Both Aeschylus and Euripides wrote plays based on his story, the former a *Heliades* and the latter a *Phaëthon*.<sup>62</sup> It is hardly surprising to find the works of Euripides so prominently represented in this section of the song. His drama in this period so overshadowed

that of his predecessors. But it is probably to dilute such a dependence that not Phaëthon himself is named, but his sisters. From the title of Aeschylus' play one assumes that there the chorus represented the sisters, and Virgil points in his phrasing to the title and action of that play and of those which followed its version rather than to Euripides'. On the other hand this passage is unique in transforming the sisters into trees other than poplars.<sup>63</sup> Virgil knew the traditional version and used it elsewhere (*Aen.* 10.190), but here, as with the story of Scylla (see below, p. 195), he "generalized" his reference by using new or unusual traits.

As in the preceding section, the genre is represented by two examples, male and female (and in chiastic order). To a modern reader the choice of hero will seem strange: Agamemnon, Oedipus, Orestes, even Prometheus would better suit our idea of Greek tragedy. In this respect, however, one can hardly overestimate the normative force of Euripides in the Hellenistic age. The concept of tragic hero and heroine was very largely a reflection of the characters whom he created. In Ovid's long list, for example, Oedipus (or Jocasta) does not appear.<sup>64</sup> And Horace, in citing mythological figures who had attempted too much (*Carm.* 4.11.25–28), turned naturally to two Euripidean heroes — Phaëthon and Belerophon.

The two parts of the section differ greatly in their phrasing. In the first the girl is simply identified as the subject of the song — "he sings of the girl who marveled at the apples of the Hesperides" — with no implication that the account of her was to be limited to this story alone. In the second, however, the singer is imagined as actually accomplishing the changes which are described: "he clothes them with bark," "he raises them as alders." I suggest that Virgil, unable otherwise to reproduce in his poem the method of drama, has tried to give a sense of its immediacy and realism — of the *activity* created uniquely by the dramatist — in these phrases which have so puzzled his interpreters. The reference to Atalanta, then, is to heroine and, by implication, plot; that to the sisters of Phaëthon is to chorus and dramatic presentation.

(5)      tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum  
           Aoras in montis ut duxerit una sororum,  
           utque uiro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;  
           ut Linus haec illi diuino carmine pastor  
           floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro  
           dixerit: 'hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,  
           Ascreao quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat

cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.  
his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo,  
ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iactet Apollo.'

(64-73)

The introduction of Gallus, first of Roman elegists, identifies this section immediately. Fortunately Virgil has preferred to associate him with what one might call the regular tradition of Hellenistic elegy. So the thorny (and unsolved) question of the origin of Latin personal and romantic elegy need not arise.<sup>65</sup> One problem is solved almost at once. The appearance of an actual person in this one section of the song has always seemed strange. But it is explained by the pre-eminent Hellenistic model of the genre, Callimachus' *Aetia*, where the poet himself appeared near the beginning in much the same circumstances as here (*Schol. ad fr. 2 Pf.*). In a dream, he said, he was transported to Helicon and from the Muses learned the stories he was about to tell. In introducing himself into his own poem he was only following the lead, as he himself indicated (*fr. 2 Pf.*), of Hesiod in the *Theogony* (22-25) and thus acknowledging his debt to his ancient forerunner. The consecration of the poet was a not unusual theme,<sup>66</sup> but Callimachus so associated it in this form with the elegiac tradition that it could be used in Virgil's passage as a typical trait. Gallus is presented, one should note, with the pipes which had once been given to Hesiod. Just as at the beginning of his *Iambi* (*fr. 191 Pf.*) Callimachus had invoked the name of Hipponax, so in the *Aetia* he had looked to Hesiod.<sup>67</sup>

There is little need to pause over the details of the scene, though they have never been satisfactorily interpreted. It is Linus who presents Gallus with the pipes. Linus, a son of Apollo, was associated primarily with the lament, and indeed he appears here with a symbol of mourning, a crown of parsley, on his head.<sup>68</sup> Now from at least the fifth century B.C. onward the elegy was usually regarded as originally or essentially a lament — in Euripides, for example, the equivalent of *θρῆνος* (*Iph. Taur. 144-47*).<sup>69</sup> So it would be not unreasonable to assume that Linus is meant to represent the earlier and simpler form of elegy, that which was later combined with a Hesiodic tradition to produce, in Hellenistic times, the kind of poem which Gallus is urged to write. The subject of the suggested poem has provided endless difficulties for interpretation, not in itself, but because of a comment of Servius. He says (*ad 72*): *hoc autem Euphorionis continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum*. There is some reason to believe, however, that Euphorion wrote only in hexameters, whereas Gallus — though it is hard to prove what anyone did *not* write — is known only for his elegies. Some

scholars have concluded that the Servian note is an inaccurate inference based on Eclogue 10.50 (see Servius' note there) and on the knowledge that Euphorion wrote about legends connected with the grove at Grynia.<sup>70</sup> It would be consistent with the method pursued to this point to believe that Euphorion had indeed written on the Grynian grove, but not in elegiacs, and that Callimachus, who had treated such legends in elegiacs, had not included this one. Then *origo* (= αἰτιον) would suggest Callimachus, *Grynei nemoris* would suggest the work of Euphorion and a typical subject, while the introduction and consecration would have named Gallus — again a composite made from diverse allusions.

Elegy was the genre in which more than any other the poet intruded his own personality. Needless to say, the passage represents a compliment to Gallus, and a very considerable one, but it is on a plane with that to Lucretius in the first section or that to Calvus in the third or even that to Euripides in the fourth. Vollmer was right in a sense to call the mention of Gallus "gelegetlich" (see above, p. 182): he appeared only because he was associated with the poetic form which permitted a poet actually to be named.

One further cautionary observation is worth making. From our fragmentary knowledge of Hellenistic poetry it cannot be proved that a poem in elegiacs of the type of the *Aetia*, a series of stories connected by one theme, differed essentially from one of the same structure in hexameters, such as Euphorion's *Chiliades* (if that is its correct title).<sup>71</sup> Differences of treatment can be seen in Latin, as, for example, between Ovid's *Fasti* and his *Metamorphoses*. The hexameter is more formal and impersonal.<sup>72</sup> It should be remembered, however, that Callimachus consciously followed Hesiod, who wrote with a distinctly personal note, but in hexameters. So once again (see above, p. 190) it may be more accurate to designate this section by the subject and treatment — learned mythology and legends in a highly personal manner — than by its meter or other formal category.

(6)      quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est  
 candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstros  
 Dulichias uexasse rates et gurgite in alto,  
 a, timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis,  
 aut ut mutatos Terei narrauerit artus,  
 quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,  
 quo cursu deserta petiuerit et quibus ante  
 irifelix sua tecta super uolitauerit alis?

(74-81)

There has never been any doubt that the subject of this section was metamorphoses.<sup>73</sup> Four lines each are devoted to Scylla and the Tereus-Philomela myth. Stories of transformations, an interest foreign to earlier periods of Greek literature, was an especially favored subject for Hellenistic authors.<sup>74</sup> Six major works by Greek authors on the theme are known. There are, however, a few points of special interest in Virgil's treatment. First, the *quid loquar* which opens the passage has long been recognized as marking the beginning of a coda. This interjection of the poet in his own person may also be a kind of link with the preceding section, just as earlier the second was delicately linked by a chronological appropriateness with the first. Second, the two stories used as examples were among those which varied greatly in their treatment by different authors.<sup>75</sup> In the best known version (*Odyssey* 12) Scylla, often identified later as a daughter of Phorcys, had been transformed into a sea monster, while Scylla the daughter of Nisus was generally thought to have been turned into a bird, the *ciris*. Virgil himself referred to this second story elsewhere (*Georg.* 1.404-09). By using the less familiar combination, however, he could suggest or allude to both transformations at once, while the phrase *quam fama secuta est* indicated from the start that there were variants.<sup>76</sup> In the accounts of Tereus, Itys, Philomela, and Procne there was a bewildering disagreement about the original relationships and about the birds into which the two women were transformed. Virgil left the answer vague — even indicated the doubts with his indirect interrogatives — and thereby in a sense referred to all the versions.<sup>77</sup>

The insistent use of interrogative adjectives may have a second purpose, however. By the interjection (*a*) in the story of Scylla (and by the emotionally colored use of *timidos* for *timentis*) an indication was given of the style in which such stories were treated.<sup>78</sup> In the same way, both here and in the Hylas passage (see above, p. 189), the interrogatives may allude not only to a literary or antiquarian interest in the exact version, but also to the elaborate, verbose descriptions which were thought characteristic of these poets. Lucian thus contrasted Homer's brief treatment of Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus (*Od.* 11.575ff.) with the style which Callimachus or Euphorion or Parthenius might have used: πόσοις ἀν οἵτι επεστὶ τὸ σδωρ ἄχρι πρὸς τὸ χεῖλος Ταντάλου ἥγαγεν; εἴτα πόσοις ἀν Ἰξίονα ἐκύλισε; (*Quomodo Hist. Conscrib.* 57).<sup>79</sup> Virgil's wording indicates in what detail a writer of metamorphoses might have described the dreadful meal, the gifts, the course of flight and novelty of wings.

(7) omnia, quae Phoebo quondam meditante beatus  
 audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,  
 ille canit (pulsae referunt ad sidera ualles),  
 cogere donec ouis stabulis numerumque referri [Hirtzel: referre]  
 iussit et inuito processit Vesper Olympo.  
 (82–86)

There has been occasional inclination to regard the phrase ending with *ille canit* as another, final section of the song.<sup>80</sup> The last two verses would then make an unadorned frame for a song ending as abruptly as it began. Rather more sentiment has favored considering all five lines the conclusion. Those defending the first view have argued that there is no reason suddenly to attribute to Apollo beside the Eurotas the whole song which Silenus has sung. And indeed there is no completely satisfactory answer to that objection. It is true as well that *omnia quae* could in itself as easily mark a resumption as a summary. Two points, however, seem to me to tell strongly against this view. First, the lack of a connective: if *omnia quae* were to introduce merely another part of the series, then one would hardly expect such a complete break, even for variation. Second, the phrasing: the last five lines are, after all, only one sentence, which should hardly be split in two to provide a final section and a conclusion. My own view is that the opening words and the whole passage are intentionally ambiguous. The form is indeed that of a conclusion. *Quid loquar* had prepared the way for a finale. Asyndeton and the summarizing force of *omnia quae* lead easily to the darkening sky and the reluctant close of a day which had opened with the wakening of Silenus. But the content, if one examines it closely, has no apparent connection with what has gone before and instead suggests yet another type or subject of poetry. Apollo's only connection with the Eurotas was in the story of his love for Hyacinthus. It was in its valley, near Amyclae, that his game of quoits with the boy ended in tragedy. The songs which he would most naturally sing either to Hyacinthus or in his honor to the river would be *παιδικά*, as the 29th and 30th Idylls of Theocritus are called, or, more generally, *έρωτικά*.<sup>81</sup> The twelfth book of the Palatine Anthology is made up of such poems, representative of the *Μοῦσα παιδική* of Strato. From Athenaeus (13.601A) we know that this was recognized as a poetic genre from an early period. The allusion might not be to love songs alone, but to collections of stories of homosexual love as well, such as Phanocles' *Erotes* (or *Kαλοί*). And even here there seems to be a double or ambiguous reference, for the setting suggests rather Alexander Aetolus' *Apollo*. The last five lines may rightly be called the conclusion,

then, but in the conclusion there is suggestion of yet another poetic type.

Such is the content of Silenus' song, a review of some principal genres or styles of poetry: first  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\nu\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , then mythology and genealogy of early man, third love stories in epic (epyllic or idyllic) manner, fourth tragedy, fifth mythology in elegiac manner, sixth metamorphoses, and finally  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\mu\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ . It would perhaps be idle to try to account for the omissions, which are major. Lyric had all but disappeared in the Hellenistic age, absorbed in elegy, epyllion, and hymn.<sup>82</sup> One should not expect to find it here. But what of epic, bucolic, and comedy? They are omitted, I believe, because they were treated earlier in the poem. In the introductory lines Virgil had mentioned and characterized epic (*reges et proelia, laudes, tristia bella*, and the verbs *canerem* and *condere*) and bucolic (*Syracosio uersu, siluas, deductum carmen, agrestem Musam, tenui harundine*, and the verbs *ludere* and *meditabor*). The action of comedy was represented in the awakening of Silenus (a companion of Dionysus), its dialogue in his remark to Aegle. But however one might explain or supplement its omissions, this scheme has solved the two major problems of interpretation: it has included all the sections within one frame, and it has not given an exaggerated importance to Gallus in a poem dedicated to Varus.

One might well ask how Virgil should have come to write such a curious catalogue-like poem. The answer is not difficult to find if one looks to his Hellenistic precursors. The Alexandrian character of the Eclogue is emphasized in the opening lines, where the poet's *recusatio* and Apollo's admonition repeat, almost translate, as Pfeiffer saw, lines from the opening of Callimachus' *Aetia*.<sup>83</sup> The tale of Silenus, further, as an enforced speaker of wisdom, was a popular Hellenistic theme, brought into prominence by Theopompus and retold, not long before Virgil wrote, by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1.48.114).<sup>84</sup> There is little doubt that the old story had gained a new dimension by the likening of Socrates in appearance to Silenus and the near coalescence of the two figures in artistic representations.<sup>85</sup> The likeness of Silenus, as O. Skutsch pointed out, was in the shrine of the muses where Propertius' poetic consecration occurred (3.3.29).<sup>86</sup> The catalogue form itself was a hallmark of the new poetry.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps because so many of the most prominent literary figures were employed in the great cataloguing and classifying activities of the newly founded libraries — Apollonius Rhodius, Lycophron, Callimachus, Alexander Aetolus, and Eratosthenes at Alexandria, Euphorion at Antioch — their methods and

interests may have been reflected in their poetry. The *Musae* of Alexander Aetolus, for instance, consisted in whole or in part of judgments and criticisms of poets, and the longest preserved fragment of Hermesianax's *Leontium* (fr. 7 Powell) is a succession of the loves of famous poets and philosophers. But even earlier, Antimachus had adopted something like this form in his *Lyde*; the style was already, as it were, in the air. In the new centers of learning Peripatetic habits of classification already familiar in other fields were quickly adapted to literary needs. As Hesiod long before had felt the necessity for putting into some sort of order the welter of inherited genealogies and theologies, now poets revived the catalogue manner, in part in imitation of the archaic, but in part under a similar compulsion. To place a poem dramatically in the mouth of a god appears, further, to have been a common form of presentation. Such was the method of Alexander's *Apollo*, of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (through an intermediary), and it has been surmised for Eratosthenes' *Hermes*.<sup>88</sup> By choosing the catalogue form, by attributing the song to Silenus, and by surveying mainly Hellenistic interests in literature Virgil therefore produced in the sixth Eclogue his most clearly and almost doctrinairely Alexandrian work.

Two matters deserve a final word. They concern not only this poem but Virgil's literary technique. The first is his method of suggesting a larger significance by combining traits from various sources into a new unity. The first section of the song provides an especially clear example, since our knowledge of its sources is comparatively full. But the later sections are constructed on the same plan. The ideas and images are consistent in themselves, giving no sense of pastiche and that unmotivated action which is characteristic of ill-constructed allegory. One sees here in a somewhat mechanical and easily analyzed form a working method which contributed most to the mystery and interpretative difficulty of the *Aeneid*. The other point worth observing is Virgil's highly developed sense of controlled variation. Being composed of a series of distinct parts, the song might have fallen — and at one point nearly did fall — into the monotonous form of Hesiod's *Eoeoe* or of Phanocles' *Erotes* ( $\eta\ \omega$ s at the beginning of each new section). Instead Virgil varied the connections, but not so much that the pattern disappeared or that the avoidance of repetition became an obvious maneuver. Similarly the first section, the third, and the fifth were developed enough to give some feeling of poetic treatment; the second, fourth, and seventh were little more than indications of content; while the sixth (metamorphoses) had touches and suggestions of the appropriate style. The result is a poem which is balanced and satisfactory

through a carefully controlled series of unbalances.<sup>89</sup> It demonstrates Virgil's full mastery at this early period of one of the highest technical skills of the Alexandrians, a sense of architectonics which was to contribute decisively to the success of the *Aeneid*.<sup>90</sup>

## NOTES

In the following notes there will be occasional reference to handbooks in abbreviated form: W. Schmid-O. Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* (=Schmid-Stählin) 1.1 (Munich 1929), 1.2 (Munich 1934), 1.3 (Munich 1940); M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur* (=Schanz-Hosius) 1<sup>4</sup> (Munich 1927), 2<sup>4</sup> (Munich 1935).

1. This appears to be the most natural and, I believe, the correct solution to this disputed question of terminology; see Knaack in *RE* 5.2 (1905) 1930–31. It is, of course, the usage of the commentators from the earliest period; see Donatus, *Vita* 49 and 68 Hagen, 211–20 and 302–15 Brummer.

2. Aspects of the phenomenon have been discussed frequently as “integration” by W. F. J. Knight; see *Vergilius* 5 (May 1940) 7–16, with references there; *id.* 6 (Dec. 1940) 17–25; *Roman Vergil* (London 1944) Index s.v.

3. A. Cartault, *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Paris 1897) 267–69; J. B. Evenhuis, *De Vergili Ecloga Sexta Commentatio* (The Hague 1955) 39–47. I shall repeat major references in the following notes, since they have often been given incompletely or irrelevantly.

4. T. Frank, *Vergil, a Biography* (New York 1922) 96–100; A. Rostagni, *RivFC* 60 (N.S. 10) (1932) 18–33.

5. G. Kettner, *Zeitschr. f.d. Gymnasialwesen* 32 (1878) 385–90; W. H. Kolster, *NJbb* 121 (1880) 323–24, repeated in *Vergils Eklogen* (Leipzig 1882) 98–99; M. Sonntag, *Vergil als Bokoliker* (Leipzig 1891) 157, repeated in *WKP* 25 (1902) 1073.

6. C. Schaper, in Ladewig-Schaper, *Vergils Gedichte* 1<sup>6</sup> (Berlin 1876) introduction to *Buc.* 6, repeated in *Symbolae Joachimicae* 1 (Berlin 1880) 28; H. Flach, *NJbb* 117 (1878) 633–37.

7. S. Hammer, *Eos* 24 (1919) 1–8; G. Jachmann, *Hermes* 58 (1923) 288–304.

8. *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig and Berlin 1901) 28–49.

9. F. Leo, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 14–55; F. Skutsch, *Gallus und Vergil* (Leipzig and Berlin 1906) 128–55.

10. The point was emphasized by F. Ramorino, *AeR* 4–5 (1901–2) 489. An adequate study of the sources and development of dedications has never been made; see the brief sketch by J. D. Denniston, J. W. Duff, and L. R. Palmer in *OCD* 259–60 and the three dissertations cited there. They represented a coalescence of two quite distinct phenomena, individual praise (*επαύως, laudes*) and individual instruction (*παραίστασις, consilia*). That they needed to have little to do with the rest of the work seems clear from Catullus 1 and Virg. *Buc.* 8.6–13, and yet they were a part of the work and not wholly ignored. The theory that Varus (Alfenus or Quintilius?) and Gallus were friends is pure conjecture.

11. H. W. Garrod, *CQ* 10 (1916) 211: “F. Skutsch . . . has shewn, I think, convincingly that *Ecl. VI* is before all else a poem in honour of Gallus.” J. S.

Phillimore, *Pastoral and Allegory* (Oxford 1925) 29: "Skutsch sought and found the key to the riddle of the VIth not in Virgil but in Gallus." H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942) 97: "... the most thorough-going and ingenious explanation which has yet been suggested, that of the late F. Skutsch." A. M. Duff, in *OCD* (Oxford 1949) 335: "Epyllia by Gallus (probably indicated in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.31ff.; cf. F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, 1901, c.2) . . ."

12. G. Némethy, *De Sexta Vergili Ecloga* (Budapest 1909) 7–11; L. Herrmann, *Les Masques et les Visages dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Brussels 1930, Paris 1952) 131–33.

13. Rose (above, n. 11) 102–4.

14. Cartault (above, n. 3) 285–87. A very similar theory was suggested without detailed documentation by N. W. De Witt, *Virgil's Biographia Literaria* (Oxford 1923) 157.

15. E. Krause, *Quibus temporibus quoque ordine Vergilius Eclogas scripserit* (Berlin 1884) 34ff. (I know this dissertation through references in Cartault [above, n. 3] 285); F. Vollmer, *RhM* 61 (1906) 486–88, esp. 486 n.4.

16. K. Witte, *Hermes* 57 (1922) 563–76; a more vaguely defined view (Virgil's plans for future poems) in the same author's *Der Bukoliker Vergil* (Stuttgart 1922) 28–32.

17. D. Van Berchem, *MusHelv* 3 (1946) 32–39. The testimony of Nepos (*Atticus* 12.4) is not fatal to Van Berchem's main thesis (so Büchner in *RE* 8A.1 [1955] 1223), but very damaging.

18. Leo (above, n. 9) 28.

19. Evenhuis (above, n. 3) 52–54.

20. C. Becker, *Hermes* 83 (1955) 317–18.

21. *RE* 8A.1 (1955) 1219–24.

22. *RhM* 99 (1956) 193–95.

23. Text of F. A. Hirtzel (Oxford 1900), from which that of W. Janell (Leipzig 1930) differs only in minor detail.

24. Detailed discussion in Cartault (above, n. 3) 269–73; Skutsch (above, n. 8) 45–46; to be supplemented by the valuable collection of sources and imitations in C. Hosius, *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica* (=Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* No. 134, Bonn 1915) and by the comments of Büchner (above, n. 21) 1221.

25. C. Ranzoli, *La Religione e la Filosofia di Virgilio* (Turin 1900) 64–70, recognized the mixture of diverse elements in the passage and concluded correctly that it represented either a "contamination" or popular philosophy. The Epicurean and Empedoclean elements were well discussed (with collateral texts) by C. Pascal, *Attitor* 37 (1901–2) 168–77, but he tried in part to equate the doctrines and in part to "interpret out" the Empedoclean traits. There is another treatment of the problem and good critique of Pascal by H. Disch, *De Poetis Aevi Augusti Epicureis* (Nürnberg 1921) 24–30; on the question of *inane*=void or space (Pascal 170, Disch 30) see now C. Bailey ed., *T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura* 1 (Oxford 1947) 140. Meanwhile M. Pohlenz, in *Xáptires . . . F. Leo* (Berlin 1911) 95 n.1, noted in passing that the lines hardly represented orthodox Epicureanism. Jachmann (above, n. 7) 289–93, apparently unaware of the work of Ranzoli, Pascal, and Disch, discussed the problem *de novo* and came to the correct conclusion, like Disch, that the passage is a personal synthesis by Virgil; but, again without reference to the considerations raised by his

predecessors, he overemphasized the imitation of Apollonius and combined the first two sections of the song into one.

26. For Empedocles' grouping of earth, water, and air together in distinction from fire (Aristotle's interpretation, *FVS*<sup>5</sup> 31 A 36, 37), see Disch (previous note) 27, 30; she made much of the point.

27. Text of Bailey (above, n. 25). Throughout the *De Rerum Natura* there is a certain ambiguity, inherent in Lucretius' unrefined technical vocabulary, in the use of *semina*, *primordia*, etc. probably for small particles (what we might call "molecules") as well as for atoms, e.g., *corporis et animi primordia*, *animae elementa*, *exordia prima animai* (3.372, 374, 380). Bailey's account of the terms for atom (*op. cit.* 1, p. 140) is incomplete (*exordia* and others omitted) and inaccurate (*prima elementa* for *primora elementa*) as well as misleading (as are his notes on 3.177–322) in presuming that one can distinguish the usage clearly at any given point; for a list of Lucretius' terms for atom see A. Ernout-L. Robin, *Lucrece, De Rerum Natura, Commentaire* 1 (Paris 1925) 24 (*ad* 1.55).

28. For Ernout-Robin (previous note) 26 to say that *primis* is not a substantive in 1.61 is, in view of the other examples, oversubtle. My point is of course unaffected by the dispute over the reading (*exordia* or *ex omnia*) in line 33.

29. *De Rerum Natura* 5.416–509, with notes of Ernout-Robin and Bailey.

30. J. H. Voss, *Des Publius Virgilius Maro Ländliche Gedichte* 2 (Altona 1830) 23–24 (*ad Buc.* 6.31–36); discussion of interpretation in A. Forbiger ed. *Vergili Opera* 1<sup>4</sup> (Leipzig 1872) *ad Buc.* 6.34; for Empedocles see *FVS*<sup>5</sup> 31 A 49 Pascal (above, n. 25) 173, Disch (above, n. 25) 28, 30.

31. *FVS*<sup>5</sup> 68 B 5 and Index s.v.

32. Empedocles' more general view of "proper mixture" for the best intelligence appears to have been defined by Roman times especially in respect to coldness and heat; see E. Zeller-W. Nestle, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* 1.2<sup>6</sup> (Leipzig 1920) 997, esp. n.3. This emphasis was perhaps suggested by his view of sleep and death (*FVS*<sup>5</sup> 31 A 85).

33. *De Rerum Natura* 3.136–322, with Bailey's introductory notes *ad* 136–60.

34. For the poets and doctrines referred to in these lines see W. Richter ed., *Vergil Georgica* (Munich 1957) 254–56. The undogmatic character of the passage has been pointed out recently in another context by A. D. Nock, *JRS* 49 (1959).

35. On the sources of the *Metamorphoses* passage see Kraus in *RE* 18.1.2 (1942/43) 1941; G. Lafaye, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs Modèles Grecs* (Paris 1904) 216–21, who failed to note the imitation of Apollonius in the opening lines; on Apollonius see O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922) 98–101.

36. It has not been remarked, so far as I know, that the beginning of Orpheus' song in Apollonius appears to imitate what must have been a prominent passage in Parmenides: . . . πῶς γαῖα καὶ ἥλος ἡδὲ σελήνη, etc. (*FVS*<sup>5</sup> 28 B 11, with the remarks of Simplicius). So Virgil included, whether consciously or adventitiously, allusion to Parmenides as well.

37. For Egnatius and Sallustius see Schanz-Hosius 1<sup>4</sup>.314; for Varro, *id.* 560.

38. Some of the branches of didactic poetry are distinguished by Kroll in *RE* 12.2 (1925) 1842–57.

39. There are of course other parallels in Homer; see F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (=Cornell St. in Class. Phil. 30, Ithaca 1949) 5–27 and elsewhere.

40. For Hesiod see, for example, Schmid-Stählin 1.1.282, and Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit.* 2.1<sup>6</sup> (Munich 1920) 120, 123, 162; for Euripides see E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1914) 33–40 (= 1st ed. 31–38). The first two sections of Rohde's work (pp. 12–309 [= 11–287]) seem to me the most meaningful introduction to Hellenistic literature. A summary, dependent on Rohde, is found in F. Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit. in d. Alexandrinerzeit* 1 (Leipzig 1891) 167–73.

41. The material, but not this emphasis, in Schmid-Stählin 1.1.617–19, 621–23.

42. *Id.* 618 n.1.

43. Eustathius *Prooem.* 11 (Drachmann, *Schol. Vet. in Pind. Carm.* 3.290).

44. See Tümpel in *RE* 5.1 (1903) 261–76 for survey of localities and conflicting forms of the story.

45. Hesiod *fr.* 115 R<sup>2</sup> appears to refer to a different account of Deucalion, without Pyrrha and perhaps without the stones; see Tümpel (previous note) 265–66.

46. See Weizsäcker in Roscher's *Lexicon* 3.2 (1909) 3354–55. Inevitably some account of Pyrrha and of the flood must have found its way into works attributed to Hesiod, but the lack or conflict of evidence shows clearly that it was not an early or original feature of them.

47. These and other references collected by Rohde (above, n. 40) 113 n. (= 105 n.3); for Callimachus see now R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* 1 (Oxford 1949) *ad fr.* 596.

48. See Scherling in *RE* 18.2.2 (1949) 2073–76, and M. Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius* 1<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1920) 393 (*ad 2.28.51*).

49. Skutsch (above, n. 8) 32–33, 96.

50. See Sittig in *RE* 9.1 (1914) 110–11.

51. See further Jessen in Roscher's *Lexicon* 4 (1915) 109.

52. It is hard to resist the ever-present temptation to comment on features of the poem irrelevant to this discussion. The repeated mistranslation of *amore* (46), however, calls for some protest. The most natural construction of an ablative with *solatur* might appear to be instrumental. And thus many have translated, “He comforts Pasiphaë with the love of a white bullock.” The objection to such a version is that it is not true and in the circumstances makes no sense. Ellipses have been imagined to try to improve the sense — unsuccessfully (as by Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke-Jahn *ad loc.*). There is no difficulty, however, if one takes *amore* as an ablative of cause, which might have been expressed more unequivocally with the preposition *de* or *in*, or even as an ablative of respect or limitation: “He comforts P. in her love for a white bullock.” See R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache* 2.1<sup>2</sup> (Hannover 1912) 395–97, esp. Anmerk. 15 and 16; 392 Anmerk. 11. Servius Danielis had commented on the problem (*ad 46*): *AMORE quidam pro ‘in amore’ accipiunt*. Virgil's unusually free use of the ablative was noted by J. W. Mackail *ed.*, *The Aeneid* (Oxford 1930) Appendix A (untrustworthy in details).

53. Such composition by “paragraphs” in short hexameter poems of this style is discussed by L. Richardson, Jr., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven and Oxford 1944) 39–40.

54. For some of the characteristics of this kind of poetry see Skutsch (above,

n. 8) 75–81; C. N. Jackson, *HSCP* 24 (1913) 44–50; M. M. Crump, *The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid* (Oxford 1931) 22–24 (unsatisfactory).

55. The most thoroughgoing and commendable rejection of “epyllion” as a meaningful term was made by W. Allen, Jr., *TAPA* 71 (1940) 1–26, where references to previous work can be found. His refusal (p. 5) to see a technical use of the term in Athenaeus (2.65A) is perhaps arbitrary. He himself felt the existence of some such form and called it a mixed type under Hesiodic influence (p. 24). His rejection of a distinction between elegiac and hexameter (p. 16) follows U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung* I (Berlin 1924) 117 n.2, and cannot be refuted by the little available evidence; see below, n. 71.

56. This approaches the definition of J. Heumann, *De Epyllio Alexandrino* (Koenigsee 1904) 7–8, but see p. 194, above.

57. E.g., S. G. Owen ed., *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1924) *ad loc.*

58. A good collection and discussion of the literary sources and their problems by Schirmer in Roscher’s *Lexicon* I (1890) 664–67.

59. See Schmid-Stählin 1.2.432.

60. For Aeschylus and Aristias see Schmid-Stählin 1.2.431 n.7; for Pacuvius see Schanz-Hosius 1<sup>4</sup>.101; for Gracchus see Schanz-Hosius 2<sup>4</sup>.272 and H. Bardon, *La Littérature Latine Inconnue* 2 (Paris 1956) 48–49.

61. See W. Morel, *PhilWoch* 1927, 637–38.

62. For the differences between the two versions see Türk in *RE* 19.2 (1938) 1509–10; Schmid-Stählin 1.2.258 n.4, and *id.* 1.3.599–603.

63. Türk (previous note) 1510, 1513–14.

64. On the sources for Ovid’s list see the excellent notes of Owen (above, n. 57) and his summary, *ad* 407.

65. It has been argued, indeed, from a parallel passage in Propertius (2.10.25–26), that the movement from the streams of Permessus to the Aonian heights represented a movement from love poetry to a more serious type. But the Propertius passage can be interpreted otherwise, as Cartault (above, n. 3) 43 had seen, and another parallel in Nicander (*Ther.* 10–12) points in quite a different direction. E. Reitzenstein, in *Festschrift R. Reitzenstein* (Leipzig and Berlin 1931) 61–63, found it difficult to make Propertius consistent in this matter, while H. E. Butler–E. A. Barber *edd.*, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933), rightly dismiss the geographical niceties *ad* 3.3 (p. 266, “... to discuss the topography of his Helicon is a waste of time”), but try inconsistently to apply a metaphorical interpretation *ad* 2.10.25–26, where they fail to consider the passage in Nicander and in their last sentence admit that such interpretation is useless elsewhere in Propertius (p. 209). See further Evenhuis (above, n. 3) chap. 3, n.23 (pp. 60–61).

66. See Reitzenstein (previous note) 52–69; Pfeiffer (above, n. 47) *ad Schol. ad fr. 2* (p. 11).

67. Reitzenstein (above, n. 65) 41–52 appears to me to have defined unclearly the motive guiding the Hellenistic regard for Hesiod. It was not as an epic poet in our sense of the word, but as a didactic and informal poet, that the age adopted him, therefore as much for elegy as for epic. Reitzenstein was thinking obviously in ancient terms, in which didactic poetry was usually called simply ἐπη (see Kroll [above, n. 38] 1842) and in which Hesiod was classed with Homer as an epic poet, e.g., in Quintilian 10.1.46–57.

68. For Linus see Kroll in *RE* 13.1 (1926) 715–17; for parsley as a symbol of mourning see Servius Danielis here *ad* 68, and Olck in *RE* 6.1 (1907) 256.

69. See Crusius in *RE* 5.2 (1905) 2263–66; D. L. Page in *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays . . . G. Murray* (Oxford 1936) 206–17.

70. The evidence regarding Euphorion is forcefully presented by Skutsch in *RE* 6.1 (1907) 1176–78; he was concerned to support his thesis that Gallus must have written hexameter poems; but see Schanz-Hosius 2<sup>4</sup>.171–72. The usual view of Gallus' work is based on Servius' notes and the parallel with Propertius discussed above (n. 65); see Schanz-Hosius 2<sup>4</sup>.172. For a different interpretation see Crusius (previous note) 2261; L. Alfonsi, *RivFC* 72 (N.S. 22) (1944) 46ff., an article which I know only through references in Bardon (above, n. 60), esp. 38 n.3; Evenhuis (above, n. 3) 31–34. There is not enough reliable evidence to settle the question satisfactorily.

71. Fairly clear examples of the type in elegiacs are Antimachus' *Lyde*, Hermesianax's *Leontium*, Phanocles' *"Ἐρωτεῖς η̄ Καλοί"*, Alexander Aetolus' *Apollo* and *Musae*; for Euphorion's poem see F. Scheidweiler, *Euphorionis Fragmenta* (Bonn 1908) 42–46. An important, but far from decisive, piece of evidence is found in Parthenius' presentation of his love-stories to Gallus for use indiscriminately *eis ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγένας* (*Narr. Amat.*, *Prooem.* 2). It has always been recognized that a characteristic of Hellenistic poetry was the mixture of forms or the use of them for new purposes. Callimachus' Hymn 5 (*In Lauacrum Palladis*) in elegiacs should be sufficient warning against dogmatism in these matters.

72. See, e.g., Kraus (above, n. 35) 1944 and 1959.

73. It should be noted, for the record, that both the stories are represented in Ovid's list (see above, p. 191) of erotic themes in tragedy.

74. See Christ-Schmid-Stählin (above, n. 40) 115; Kraus (above, n. 35) 1938; Lafaye (above, n. 35) 24–45.

75. The whole first half of Evenhuis' dissertation (above, n. 3) is concerned with the variants of these stories.

76. E. Norden's collection of such expressions had shown this meaning, although it was misinterpreted by Skutsch and Leo: *Aeneis Buch VI*<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig 1934) *ad* 14 (pp. 123–24); see Evenhuis (above, n. 3) 8–9. "Probus," discussing the same phrases (*ad Buc.* 6.31, p. 332 Hagen), came to a somewhat different conclusion.

77. The references, as elsewhere in the song, are unusually vague: it is not even clear whether the subject of *petiuerit* and *uolitauerit* is Tereus or Philomela.

78. Servius Danielis noted (*ad. loc.*) that *timidos* was perhaps unexpected here. It represents the Homeric *δεισοδρόμες* (*Od.* 12.203, 224, 244).

79. Lucian's memory was inaccurate: Ixion does not appear in the Homeric passage.

80. See Schanz-Hosius 2<sup>4</sup>.42 for representatives of both views.

81. For the titles in Theocritus see comments of A. S. F. Gow ed., *Theocritus* 2 (Cambridge 1950) 504; Christ-Schmid-Stählin (above, n. 40) 22 n. 2. The term *μέλος ἐρωτικόν* is found in [Bion] 2.1–2.

82. See E. A. Barber in *The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1923) 51–52.

83. R. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* 63 (1928) 321–23; further in Reitzenstein (above, n. 65) 25–40.

84. When Servius Danielis says (*ad* 13 and 26) that in Theopompus' *Thaumasia* Silenus spoke, in answer to Midas, *de rebus naturalibus et antiquis*,

he is merely making a conjecture based on this Eclogue; there is every reason to believe that Theopompus' version could hardly be described in this way; see *FGrHist* 115 F 75 (adding, as a parallel, Philostratus *Vita Ap. Ty.* 6.27), and Kuhnert in Roscher's *Lexicon* 2 (1897) 2955–56. This kind of half-falsehood (combining an inherited fact with conjecture from the text) is typical of the Virgil commentaries; for other examples see R. Syme, *CQ* 31 (1937) 39–48, and H. H. Scullard in *OCD* 37 (s.v. Alfenus Varus).

85. Interesting comments on this development by C. C. Vermeule III, *CJ* 54 (1958–59) 49–55.

86. Skutsch (above, n. 22) 194.

87. See Skutsch (above, n. 8) 52–54. There is some relation between the catalogue form in these works, and especially in this Eclogue, and the technique described by W. Kröpling, *Die Priamel (Beispielreihung) als Stilmittel in der griechischen-römischen Dichtung* (Greifswald 1935), esp. 53–56.

88. See Kroll (above, n. 38) 1847.

89. For the development of this technique in Hellenistic poetry (and its use by Ovid) see E. Martini in *'Επιτύμβιον H. Swoboda* (Reichenberg 1927) 165–90, esp. 175.

90. I am greatly indebted to Professors A. D. Nock and E. A. Havelock for criticism and kindly assistance. I have profited as well from the perceptive analyses contained in an unpublished essay by G. P. Fitzgerald, "Elements of Unity in the Sixth Eclogue: Some Notes on Vergil's Literary Method" (1953), now in the Harvard College Library.



## ROMAN IMPERIAL BUILDING IN THE PROVINCES

BY RAMSAY MACMULLEN

OF the many things that separate the Roman Empire from the Republic, the most obvious physically is the building activity of Augustus and his successors in the provinces. The Republic had embellished its capital at the expense of the conquered; the Empire redressed the balance; and the political and psychological significance of this change, by which the wealth of Rome's subjects was in part, and sometimes very magnificently, restored to them, is sufficient to mark an era.<sup>1</sup> It is typical of Augustus, breaking with an older tradition, that he should have been, next to Hadrian, the most active in this beneficence.

### THE PROBLEM IN THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES A.D.

The mechanics of imperial building in the provinces have never been described. The evidence is scant and scattered. Still, we know something. We know for example how the process most commonly began, in an appeal directed to the throne by the envoys of some distressed city, or by an imperial magistrate on its behalf, or by the spontaneous good will of the emperor himself. Philostratus records the boasts of several rhetors who, like Fronto, had great influence over the Antonines, and who turned their eloquence into grants of millions of sesterces.<sup>2</sup>

As an instance, at a time when Herodes (Atticus) was governor of the free cities in Asia, he observed that Troy was ill-supplied with baths, and that the inhabitants drew muddy water from their wells, and had to dig cisterns to catch the rain water. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Hadrian to ask him not to allow an ancient city, conveniently near the sea, to perish from drought, but to give them three million drachmae to procure a water-supply, since he had already bestowed on mere villages many times that sum. The Emperor approved of the advice as in accordance with his own disposition, and appointed Herodes himself to take charge of the water-supply. But when the outlay reached the sum of seven million drachmae, and the officials who governed Asia kept writing to the Emperor that it was a scandal that the tribute received from five hundred cities should be spent on the fountain of one city, the Emperor expressed his disapproval of this to Atticus, whereupon Atticus replied in the most lordly fashion in the world: "Do not, O Emperor, allow

yourself to be irritated on account of so trifling a sum. For the amount spent in excess of the three millions I hereby present to my son, and my son will present it to the town."

Elsewhere Philostratus describes the successes of Polemon, rhetor of Smyrna, who managed to shift Hadrian's favor so completely from Ephesus to Smyrna "that in one day (Hadrian) lavished a million drachmae on the city, and with this the corn market was built, a gymnasium which was the most magnificent of all those in Asia, and a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the promontory.<sup>3</sup> Aristides worked on the sympathies of Marcus Aurelius, a certain Chaeremon on the sympathies of Augustus; even the West sent its orators to Rome.<sup>4</sup> When the emperors were so susceptible to appeals, the extravagance of municipal envoys was not really so foolish as it is usually said to have been. It was a colorable gamble. Chaeremon had to chase Augustus as far as Spain; but his native Tralles benefited immensely.

However eloquent the rhetors, it is unlikely that they could tap the imperial treasury at will. The wish to build must have lain in the emperor already. Sometimes sheer arrogance was the moving force, as in Nero's attempt to cut the isthmus of Corinth;<sup>5</sup> sometimes the restlessness born of uncontested power;<sup>6</sup> sometimes a wish to buttress the dynasty by a kind of palpable propaganda.<sup>7</sup> In all of these motives we can see at work the desire to express a certain concept, almost a personality, of rule. Each age must be new and different, particularly expressing the man on the throne. Pliny, in his appeal to Trajan to undertake the construction of a canal in Bithynia, shrewdly points out how such a scheme would answer to "your eternity and dignity."<sup>8</sup> Pliny had the sense to suggest something desirable in itself, but more, something which could not be undertaken by private or municipal resources. It was a project fit for omnipotence.

In granting imperial aid to the provinces, there were down-to-earth considerations also — military, for instance. Some aspects of this question lead into the planting of colonies, a subject apart; yet we are sometimes told, and can usually guess, that a colony planted *de novo*, or even raised to that status from a lower rank, might be equipped with new buildings at the expense of the treasury.<sup>9</sup> As for economic considerations, when cities were too much cut off from their neighbors, their communications were improved with bridges, or by the digging of harbors and canals, or by the laying down of roads; when they suffered from overcrowding, slum areas were cleared and space made

for *fora* and porticos; when their water-supply was inadequate, aqueducts were provided; and — the most frequent occasion of appeal — when they were hit by earthquakes, their tribute was remitted, and often large sums besides despatched to their rehabilitation.<sup>10</sup> In this last field for mercy, indeed, a long tradition was established. Monarchs of Hellenistic times had sent help to cities overwhelmed by natural disaster, and great cities had helped each other. In the Empire, it was usually the provinces of Asia Minor which suffered worst, and which could also send the most persuasive embassies to Rome.<sup>11</sup> Here was scope for the emperor to show himself (as he was assiduously hailed) "the Restorer," "the Saviour," "the Inaugurator of a Golden Age."

Hadrian was easily the most active builder in the provinces; next, Augustus; next, Trajan; and thereafter, Tiberius, Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Diocletian, more or less equal with each other.<sup>12</sup> All of these were, if not among the "Good Emperors," at least good landlords; and it was really in this capacity as much as in any other that they spent freely and tried to stimulate private citizens to do the same. Their encouragement of building is reflected in laws and municipal charters. Vespasian "allowed anyone to take over empty lots and to build in them, if their owners failed to do so."<sup>13</sup> Hadrian "decreed, among other things, that no house in any city should be torn down in order to transport cheap (building) materials to other towns."<sup>14</sup> The same type of legislation, deriving from Republican precedents and intended to prevent careless destruction of houses in municipalities, can be seen in the *Lex municipi Tarentini* (88–62 B.C.?) and in the *Lex Malacitana* (81–84 A.D.).<sup>15</sup> Later in the Empire laws grew more frequent and more stringent, but with the same end in view: to preserve the beauty and the appearance of prosperity in provincial cities. Ulpian, for example, writes:<sup>16</sup>

He (the provincial governor) ought to go round the temples and public works to examine whether they are in proper repair, or require to be in any way restored, and, if there are any which are only in course of construction, he ought to see that they are completed so far as the resources of the municipality admit; he ought also to appoint in the regular form careful superintendents of the works (*curatores operum*), and, if necessary, provide military attendants (*ministeria quoque militaria*) to support them.

The tenth book of Pliny's *Letters* is the ideal commentary to this text; but Pliny found it not so necessary to encourage the cities to build as to discourage them from attempting too much.<sup>17</sup> Local boosters had

ridiculously overextended their private and municipal resources. Here again laws could be of help, to insure that campaign promises were fulfilled and that old projects should be completed before new ones were begun.<sup>18</sup> By the fourth century, of course, the spirit had largely gone out of the cities — certainly the wealth had — and local patriotism was no longer voluntary.<sup>19</sup>

As long as the emperors themselves were still solvent, the first help that they could give to the provinces was financial. The only method not chosen was the sending out of so many bags of actual cash to Smyrna, to Carthage, or to any other beneficiary. With this one exception, every possible kind of arrangement was made to see that funds or credit were transferred. No doubt the easiest was a warrant to draw from the *fiscus* of the province as it was filled up with taxes. The ultimate loser might be either the *aerarium Saturni*, in senatorial provinces, or the imperial *fiscus*. Calls were also made on the *patrimonium* and on the *res privata*.<sup>20</sup> To judge by the procedure at Rome, about which we know the most, there were separate accounts for building expenses.<sup>21</sup>

Aside from outright grants, money for building was made available in the provinces through the juggling of taxes, sometimes by crediting taxes to municipalities, sometimes by authorizing new taxes on their behalf. Tacitus mentions the tribute assigned to the rehabilitation of Asian cities under Tiberius.<sup>22</sup> Septimius Severus granted a like remission to Carthage for an aqueduct.<sup>23</sup> A more obscure instance is the bath built by Vespasian "from the very foundations, with decorations and with the baths, through NN *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, from funds saved out of the tribal commune . . . and the funds of the city of Pataris contributing and hallowing the work."<sup>24</sup> We know of two cases where townships were allowed to impose some new tax to pay for public works,<sup>25</sup> just as was done, on a much larger scale, in Rome and Constantinople.<sup>26</sup>

Once the emperor had decided to build, say, a portico to line the market-place of Ephesus, and once the proper arrangements had been made for the financing of the work, the question of a supervisor came up, not necessarily a technical expert, but someone rich, influential, and vigorous. It would be his duty to farm out contracts to expedite the procuring of materials and labor, and to keep a general eye on expenses. We can form a picture of his activities by analogy with the activities of men appointed to exactly the same position, but by municipalities for locally financed projects. The first step was to assign the land to build on,<sup>27</sup> next to parcel out the job to different local dignitaries, senators or at least wealthy men. These then personally oversaw the organizing

of the particular tasks entrusted to them, even to the point of visiting the quarries from which the stone was brought.<sup>28</sup> Where supervisors of imperial works in the provinces were not army men, procurators, or governors (the most common), they seem to have been Romans of high rank. Tacitus mentions a senator sent to Asia; another deputy was an *eques*.<sup>29</sup> Since Hadrian was the most active in extending aid to provincial projects, it is fitting that the names of three men should have survived, *curatores operum publicorum dati ab divi Hadriano*.<sup>30</sup>

These supervisors often appear in inscriptions linked with technical advisers, *ἀρχιτέκτονες* or *architecti*.<sup>31</sup> Slave or free — Crassus had five hundred slave builders and architects<sup>32</sup> — such men could no doubt be found in all large cities, either free agents or in the permanent pay of the municipality.<sup>33</sup> The emperors had a regular stable of them in Rome, to be used as needed in the capital or in the provinces, either slaves and freedmen<sup>34</sup> or soldiers.<sup>35</sup> Most of these we would now call "master-builders." Of architects in the true sense — men like Vitruvius — there was a much more select circle, and considering the qualifications which Vitruvius insists on for the profession, the real difficulty lies in understanding why there should have been any circle at all. That redoubtable perfectionist would demand in the architect a knowledge of history, literature, draughtsmanship, mathematics, philosophy, music (!), medicine (!!), law, astronomy, and geometry.<sup>36</sup> To learn all this one would have to start as a boy (and a boy of singular talents), apprenticed to some master artist.<sup>37</sup> Vitruvius himself figured in such a tradition and speaks of one or two more like himself.<sup>38</sup> Martial addresses a certain Rabirius, presumably no narrow specialist, who "conceived heaven with its stars in your pious soul, who by wondrous art build the mansion of the Palatine."<sup>39</sup> But despite such Roman exceptions, the profession had and kept its roots in the Greek world.<sup>40</sup> Of the names of the famous planners that have been preserved, imperial favorites, most are Greek.<sup>41</sup> The sculptors employed in the decoration of temples and palaces were Greek, since it was easier to bring them to Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, or Africa than to train the necessary artists on the spot.<sup>42</sup> At Lepcis under Septimius Severus these Greeks took in hand a certain number of local apprentices, whose work is later found elsewhere in the province, but such a practice was not usual.<sup>43</sup> It seems likely that the distinction between artists and technicians, architects and contractors, sculptors and masons, was essentially a distinction between East and West, and that men from the former categories were Greeks, making up a reserve of talent in the Eastern provinces, while in the West they were concentrated at the emperor's call in Rome.<sup>44</sup>

The best marble came from the Greek East where the quarries, as elsewhere in the empire, were largely owned by the crown. Their administration and output were most impressive. Since municipally financed building in Gaul, for instance, made use of exotic stone shipped half across the Mediterranean, and since the sources of Pentelic, Synnadic, and other rare marbles were controlled by the crown, it is clear that projects undertaken by the emperors in the provinces must have drawn on state quarries as a matter of course. The marble, the organization, the transport, and the demand were all present, though their specific application to state-financed projects has left no trace.

In bricks, the other chief building material, there is no sign of traffic, except possibly by the *figlina Pansiana*, whose products were scattered over northern Italy, Istria, and Dalmatia.<sup>45</sup> Bricks after all required neither special skill nor special clay, and were besides too heavy to be worth exporting, so that they were produced locally as needed. We know of town-owned brickyards,<sup>46</sup> and of private brickyards from the *Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, in which their size is limited no doubt because of the large amounts of water they required.<sup>47</sup> Occasionally they identify themselves by their stamps, just as at Rome.<sup>48</sup> But what we would like to find is a brickyard worked by the state, or a private one leased, for the benefit of some municipality. Of state-owned brickyards there are traces in Egypt, in Morocco, and in Britain.<sup>49</sup> Britain indeed offers special help. An inscription published recently must be added to a number of similar ones, all from London, all on bricks.<sup>50</sup> The basic text reads P PR BR LON, with every possible variant.<sup>51</sup> While no one doubts that PR BR LON means "of the province of Britain, in London," the letter P at the beginning is still puzzling. *Portitores*, *publicani*, and *procuratores* have been suggested, of which the last is the strongest contender.<sup>52</sup> One might suggest also *p(ecunia) pr(ovinciae)* or *p(ecunia) p(ublica) Br(itanniae) Lon(dinensis)*, since it is agreed that the bricks were used for official buildings financed by the state.<sup>53</sup> Collingwood cites Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.1, where Agricola helped the natives to refurbish their towns at state expense.<sup>54</sup>

One of the London stamps is hitherto unexplained: P BR SAN. The last three letters may of course be in error for LON.<sup>55</sup> On amphora handles found in London, however, occur the inscriptions P PR B, RVF SANI, OF SANI, SANNVS, and SAENVS.<sup>56</sup> We appear to be dealing with the *officina* of Rufus Sannus, employed by the state in a tilery either leased or under contract to the central government, and busy with some London senate-house or the like. In making such a contract the state, needless to say, spoke *de haut en bas*. If necessary, it

could have simply conscripted labor. But this would have fitted neither the benevolence nor the prosperity of the early Empire, and doubtless resources of local production were enlisted quite freely.

While corvées for building are occasionally encountered in the early Empire (see below, p. 220), civilian labor was ordinarily recruited by the traditional method of farming out different parts of a job to contractors. They in turn got together the workmen. We should begin at the top: Nero dug sods, Vespasian carried hods, the one for his Corinth canal, the other for the temple on the Palatine.<sup>57</sup> Still, the emperors never put the professionals out of business.<sup>58</sup> The use of the old system continued, though (again from the evidence for Rome itself) there may have been a growing bureaucracy of accountants, scribes, overseers, engineers, architects, consultants, and the like, to intervene between the emperor with his project and the *redemptor* with his gang. One development deserves emphasis. The key to it lies in the general history of gilds, which can not be discussed here; but it may be said generally that, as their usefulness became plainer, various associations including those of woodworkers and builders (*dendrophori* and *fabri*) were fitted into the organization of the government more and more closely, at first only in Rome, later in the provinces also, and that as this happened projects were divided according to the number of gild-units involved. The *redemptor* thus became identical with the gild master, as we know from an inscription of Vespasian's time,<sup>59</sup> or was completely replaced by the gild-master, with whom the officials of the state could no doubt work directly. Signs of this division of *opera publica* by gilds can be seen in Aurelian's wall around the capital. "The sizes of the arches in the surviving gates pair off.... This suggests that the Gates were let out in pairs to different building *collegia*." "On a few sectors, however, another type of wall was erected, with a loop-holed gallery supporting a high-level rampart-walk.... This distribution of this Wall varies considerably.... So it is perhaps best explained as the work of a particular gang of workmen or the contribution of some particular *collegium*."<sup>60</sup> The same procedure is evident in the fortifications at Salona under Marcus Aurelius; in projects in Constantinople in the late Empire, where work was divided between the Greens and the Blues; and in the work of nine separate groups of workmen laying down the fifth-century mosaics in the "Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors."<sup>61</sup>

The most direct contribution that the emperors could make to provincial building was the gift of so many actual men, occasionally convicts,<sup>62</sup> occasionally from a more respectable source. On crown

estates tenants were bound to pay some rent in kind, by corvée. As the colonate developed, this system of payments by labor became somewhat better organized, and we find, first under Hadrian and more often under Severus Alexander, *coloni* used for simple construction jobs — on crown land.<sup>63</sup> It seems likely that *coloni* were also turned to emergency tasks such as the fortifications of cities.

### THE ROLE OF THE ARMY

By far the largest resource, however, which the emperor could make available to the municipalities was the army, a more or less permanent labor pool of roughly 300,000. Nor did the usefulness of this force lie only in brute strength. The army was the technical school for the entire empire, and on its skill the emperors regularly drew for experts in surveying and in the more mathematical side of construction. The dependence of civilian engineering on military, or at least the close connection of the two, is indicated in a number of ways — by the fact that the most famous architect of Augustus' age was for part of his career “in charge of the construction and repair of *ballistae* and *scorpiones* and other engines of war”; that Frontinus under Trajan divided his efforts between two works, on the Aqueducts and on Tactics; while the architect Apollodorus of a slightly later period was also famous for his *Πολιορκητικά* dedicated unavailingly to Hadrian.<sup>64</sup> The very word ἀρχιτέκτων or *architectus* meant a technician generally, and we find soldiers with this title not only common in the oversight of quarries, but concentrated in Rome to look after war-machines and naval construction.<sup>65</sup> The point can be proved in other ways. Take the surveyors — the *agrimensores*, *mensores agrarii*, *libratores*, or *gromatici*. While some of these were imperial slaves used mostly in Rome in connection with public buildings,<sup>66</sup> the greater number were to be found in the legions, indispensable experts for the laying down of a camp at the end of the day's march, for the planning of winter or permanent quarters, for roads and bridges, canals and harbors, forts and walls, and for the measuring of the *pratae legionis* and the land of new colonies. Yet from the very beginning of their history these same men had completely non-military duties as well, which continually increased with the development of more elaborate cadasters for taxation, with more imperial building, and with more exact centuriation and definition of municipal and praedial boundaries. They were regularly apprenticed and trained in the legions, shunted about between Rome and the provinces during their term of service, advanced to comfortable

salaries and often to a berth in the praetorian guard, and at the end of their formal career were recalled as *evocati* to prolonged usefulness.<sup>67</sup> Though some were ordinarily assigned to each provincial governor,<sup>68</sup> the majority appear to have been concentrated where the emperor could easily lay his hands on them: in the praetorian guard,<sup>69</sup> or, in Hadrian's case, in the ranks of the traveling court. Trajan refused to lend any from his short supply.<sup>70</sup> Hadrian "enrolled by cohorts and centuries, on the model of the legions, builders, geometers, architects and every sort of expert in construction or decoration."<sup>71</sup>

These army engineers and surveyors turn up once or twice on loan to municipalities or to a veteran colony.<sup>72</sup> Most of their work on civilian jobs, however, had to do with the kind of enormous undertaking to which imperial benevolence naturally turned, like canals<sup>73</sup> or aqueducts.<sup>74</sup> There is a key inscription from Africa dealing with the latter.<sup>75</sup>

... to Etruscus: The splendid city of Saldae and I with the citizens of Saldae ask, Sire, that you urge Nonius Datus, veteran of the Third Augusta, surveyor, to come to Saldae to finish what remains of his work.

I (Nonius Datus) set out, and fell among brigands; stripped and wounded I escaped with my companions, and came to Saldae. I met the procurator Clemens. He took me to the mountain, where they were bewailing the tunnel, without any confidence in their work. They thought it would have to be abandoned because the tunneling of the passage amounted to more than the length through the mountain. The excavations seemed to have wandered off line, the upper turning to the south and right, the lower likewise turning to the right and north, and both leaving the line. The true line had been calculated over the mountain from east to west. Lest any reader should go wrong about this word 'excavations': by 'upper' and 'lower' is meant, the 'upper', where the tunnel receives the water, the 'lower' where it emits it. Though I marked out the work for them to see who was to have what part of the tunneling, I assigned the work to the rivalry of some sailors and some Alpine troops, and on these terms they agreed to pierce the mountain. Thus I made my surveys, and then marked out the course. I decided it should be done according to the plan which I gave to the procurator Petronius Celer. The finished work, with the water sent through the tunnel, Varius Clemens the procurator dedicated. Five modii.

That my work on this tunnel at Saldae appear more clearly, I attach certain letters.

Porcius Vetustinus to Crispinus: You have, Sire, been very accommodating on other occasions, and particularly in kindly sending me Nonius Datus, *evocatus*, that I could deal with him about the work of which he had begun the oversight. And on this account, though I was pressed for

time and hurrying to Caesarea, I made a trip to Saldae, and saw the aqueduct well begun, though it was a great undertaking, and could not be completed without the supervision of Nonius Datus, who was dealing with it zealously and faithfully. For this reason, I submit my request that we be allowed to keep him in charge of the work for some months, in case . . .

The importance of this account lies in its unique vividness and in the confirmation lent by its details to the very fragmentary picture which appears in our other evidence. Only one fact needs comment: that for a good deal more than four years, calculated by the careers of the various men mentioned in the correspondence, no one with any engineering competence at all could be found in the province of Mauretania, and Nonius Datus could only be spared for brief visits. His special skills were certainly very rare and valuable.

*Fabros ferrarios carpentarios . . . convenit sociare militiae*, says the dogmatic Vegetius. As a result, "the legion has, besides, carpenters, builders, wainwrights, smiths, painters, and the other artisans needed for the making of winter quarters."<sup>76</sup> These handymen were obviously employed on the many public works undertaken by the legions in provincial cities; but they were employed also at the source of supply, in quarries and brickyards. A good proportion of imperial quarries were run by under-officers,<sup>77</sup> and from these came some of the stone for public buildings. A centurion of the Third Cyrenaica was "in charge of the quarry from which come the paving stones for Alexandria."<sup>78</sup> As for bricks supplied to public building from legionary kilns, examples are few, but enough to indicate a fairly common procedure. After all, outside of Rome, the biggest brickyards belonged to the army, for instance at Xanten, Nied bei Höchst, or Rheinzabern,<sup>79</sup> and bricks from these and other yards were bound to be used as convenience suggested, along with other army resources.<sup>80</sup> Roman soldiers thus supplied not only a good deal of the technical competence and sheer manpower needed for imperial projects in the provinces, but some of the building materials as well.

The table below shows the participation of the army in provincial building as attested in inscriptions.<sup>81</sup> From it some interesting facts emerge. In the first place, as we would expect, army help was usually directed to monumental projects more than to works of pure architecture: to fortifications, amphitheaters, and aqueducts rather than to temples and arches. In the second place, the list is impressively long. Military labor played a large role in imperial gifts, especially in such a province as Numidia where the garrison had little fighting to do. In

the third place, the list is late: it contains very little before the second century and no real concentration of activity until the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The explanation of this latter fact takes us into the general history of the late Empire.

### THE PROBLEM IN THE LATER EMPIRE

From Marcus Aurelius on, the empire gradually slid into the abyss of perpetual war. Since the mechanics of imperial building in the provinces, as already described, fitted a condition of comparative stability, they were bound to change in the third and fourth centuries. There are, to be sure, survivals of the older practices: of embassies sent to ask for aid,<sup>82</sup> of state architects,<sup>83</sup> of overseers dispatched by the emperors,<sup>84</sup> and of grants of money from the imperial treasury.<sup>85</sup> Above all, the emperors' motives for building remained the same that stimulated construction in the provinces under Hadrian, and were even in this late period more urgent. The general tasks of restoration, of reinvigoration, of beautifying the realm, seem to have been pursued in the absurd belief that the real essence of prosperity waited only on its external manifestation. If new *fora*, basilicas, theaters, and aqueducts could somehow be erected, the happiness of early days would return. But in the midst of such empty hopes, and with unprecedented powers concentrated in the central government, construction languished. Though the gigantic brickyards of Rome, by the close of the second century, had passed to the crown through confiscation, purchase, or inheritance, they were allowed to lie idle by all the later emperors save Diocletian. Private yards also were not much worked.<sup>86</sup> In precisely the same way, from the reign of Tiberius, the early emperors began to take over the most famous quarries everywhere, which their successors found only an embarrassment.<sup>87</sup> Despite a good many well-known structures, in Trèves, for example, there was not only less building in the later Empire, but even in the exceptions, brick and local stone replaced choice marble. The slackness of the times can be seen in another fact. The people of the fourth century, instead of putting up new monuments, increasingly tore down the old, or simply let time destroy, with a consistency that legislation could only describe, not prevent.<sup>88</sup> As civilian construction generally fell off, and as their market declined, so did the numbers of those skilled in construction. The fact is reflected in the first mention of state salaries, paid by Alexander Severus, to architects and engineers, along with the gift of lecture-rooms and food for their pupils.<sup>89</sup> Similar practices continued

## ARMY BUILDING IN THE PROVINCES

Date	Work Done	Place	Units	References
79 first c.?	road? aqueduct baths	Tarraconenensis Dalheim, Ger. Sup. Nied.-bei-Höchst, Ger. Sup.	leg. VII leg. XIV ?	CIL 2. 2477 CIRrh. 1377, 16 (on a brick) CIL 3. fasc. 21 pp. 420-421
first c.	<i>laceti</i>	Coptos, Egypt	various coh. and two legg.	CIL 3. 6627
Trajan 138-140	(colonia) basilica	Timad, Numidia Syene, Egypt	leg. III centurion of leg. II & coh. I eq.	CIL 8. 17842-3 CIL 3. 6025
second c. 144	walls walls	Bostra, Arabia Sala, Africa	leg. III ala II Syr.	CIL 3. 100 <i>Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist de l'École Fr. de Rome</i> 48 (1931) p. 16 CIL 3. 1171
161	walls	Apulum, Dacia	leg. XIII	CIL 3. 1171
170	wall & tower	Spalato, Dalmatia	coh. I mill. Dalmatorum	CIL 3. 1979
170	tower	Salona, Dalmatia	vexx. leg. II & III	CIL 3. 1980
176	temple & porticos	Narona, Dalmatia	coh. I Belg. & leg. I	CIL 3. 1790
176-180	amphitheater	Lambaesis, Numidia	leg. III	<i>Amée epigr.</i> 1955, nos. 135, 137 and CIL 8. 2488
Marcus Aurelius	amphitheater	Dura, Syria	vexx. leg. III & IV	Dura, <i>Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season</i> P. 78
Commodus 202	arch gate & walls	Lambaesis, Numidia	leg. III coh. I Vangion.	CIL 8. 2698
Sept. Sev. & Caracalla	bath	Newcastle, Brit.	leg. III	CIL 7. 1003
Sept. Sev.-Alex. Sev.	bath & basilica	Lambaesis, Numidia	ala eq. Sebus.	CIL 8. 2706
211	temple of Jupiter Dolichenus	Lancaster, Brit.	centurion of leg. XXX	CIL 7. 287
Alex. Sev. Gordian 248	aqueduct bath & basilica walls	Romula, Dacia	leg. III coh. I leg. XXII and numerous Sur. sagitt.	<i>Amée epigr.</i> 1942-3, no. 93 CIL 7. 445 CIL 3. 8031 and <i>Germania</i> 25 (1941) P. 239
third c. 296-297 369 and later	baths baths & aqueduct baths & basilica	Drobeta, Dacia Autun, Gal. Lugdun Trèves, Belgica	leg. VI & coh. I sagitt. ?	<i>Dacia</i> 11-12 (1945-7) p. 279 Julian, <i>Hist. de la Gaule</i> 8. 66 n. 6 J. Steinhausen, <i>Arch. Siedlungskunde des Trierer Landes</i> , Trier 1936, 435
367-375	walls	Augst, Belgica	curante praef. militum	A. Riese, <i>Das Römische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften</i> , Leipzig-Berlin, 1914, no. 318

into the fourth century, but without making good the deficit.<sup>90</sup> Experts could be found, for example, *artifices periti aquariae rei* for Valentinian's schemes on the Rhine;<sup>91</sup> but "it is clear from the joy of Autun at receiving *artifices* from Britain that skilled labor was missing from the (Gallic) cities (of the fourth century)."<sup>92</sup> Where the state operated only on its own behalf, especially in Rome and Constantinople, its stringent regulations could control the resources of gilds, but the provincial cities, "stripped of their skilled workmen (*ministeria*)," were in a worse way.<sup>93</sup> They could only bargain in the open market for labor increasingly scarce.<sup>94</sup>

Imperial benevolence did continue. The picture is certainly not all black. But there are some important changes. Imperial building activity is concentrated where the emperor is resident, as if the machinery for far-flung subsidies were lacking.<sup>95</sup> There is a stronger note of compulsion through liturgies and the use of convicts,<sup>96</sup> and a new method of extracting construction-materials from an unhealthy economy by taxes in kind of lime, boards, timber, and bricks.<sup>97</sup> Above all, the army plays a greater part and increasingly fills the vacuum left by the declining wealth and competence of the provincial population. The activity of Probus is a case in point. He heaped up an immense mound to commemorate the defeat and death of an enemy in Egypt, using for the task his soldiers "whom he never allowed to be idle. There are still to be seen in many cities in Egypt public works of his which he caused to be built by the soldiers. On the Nile, moreover, he did so much that his sole efforts greatly added to the tithes of grain (through improved irrigation). He constructed bridges and temples, porticos and basilicas, all by the labor of his soldiers."<sup>98</sup>

On this passage Tacitus or Vegetius would have made some fatuous remark about "stiffening the morale of the troops." The troops, however, turned to civilian building to improve more than their own discipline. They had more permanent camps, especially after Hadrian; and the ensuing half century of calm allowed them to turn these into an approximation of cities, equipped with so great a variety of peacetime structures that the military and civilian areas of a colony could be separated only in theory. Even the theory broke down. Septimius Severus, in order to make military service more attractive, allowed the soldiers to live, marry, rear families and own property in cities and *canabae* adjoining the camps. The soldier took a pride in these urban quarters, and it was natural for him to contribute his labor to improve them.<sup>99</sup> He thus built both in his camp and in his city, until they had

become at times almost indistinguishable, like Dura, Cologne, or Lambaesis.

In the list of structures which we know were built by soldiers, the concentration of army activity in the later second and third centuries has already been noted. The explanation of this fact lies partly in the absolute decline of civilian resources and in the approximation of the army to a militia, just described. But there is another reason. Eight of the items on the list concern fortification. That the army should be employed on such tasks, and that they should multiply, is obvious. There are further instances, not on our list, of municipal walls erected at the emperors' expense in this same late period, in Germany and Arabia,<sup>100</sup> or by legionaries paid by the city which they fortified.<sup>101</sup> The great period of wall- and tower-building, however, came in the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>102</sup>

By then a system was in use, based on an earlier practice (above, p. 210), of assigning a part of local taxes to municipalities, with which to erect their defense. The proportion was normally one third of the total tax returns. At Chalcis these funds were used to replace a stoa,<sup>103</sup> but elsewhere only fortifications are mentioned.<sup>104</sup> Cities were urged to "build new walls or make the old walls stronger" (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.34, a. 396), and the same cry went out to men in frontier commands: to the Duke of Riparian Dacia (*CT* 15.1.13) or to the Count of the Orient (*CT* 15.1.36). The latter indeed, because of the bad state of roads, bridges, aqueducts, and walls, was told that "all material which is said to be thus destined (to these structures) from the demolition of temples shall be assigned to the aforesaid need." The decree brings us full circle to the pillaging of ancient monuments mentioned above, against which the *Codes* thundered. Here, however, earlier edicts yielded to emergency, and the state took a hand in its own destruction. Such robbing from older buildings has been often traced elsewhere by the archaeologist, in the walls of western towns.<sup>105</sup>

Under pressure of invasion the empire thus fed on its accumulated strengths. A more significant instance lies in the conscription of corvées. From Republican times cities had as a matter of course drawn on their population for help against an enemy. Municipal charters permitted the demand of labor from citizens for the building of *munitiones*, and this word, used by Caesar's day to mean any edifice, harks back to a time when attacks and sieges were a common thing.<sup>106</sup> The tradition was later turned to the uses of peace,<sup>107</sup> but the fourth century renewed the danger of attack. Repeated laws declare that "All persons regardless of any privilege shall be compelled to provide for the construction of

walls."<sup>108</sup> Thus the history of imperial benevolence ends. The emperors, having nothing else to offer of help to provincial building, made available force and compulsion, in a fashion typical of the times.

Such indeed is the chief result to be expected from a study like this: that it exemplify in detail the wider characteristics of each period. Prosperity and efficiency mark the first two centuries, with an elaboration and organization of good will that reached a high point with Hadrian. It is striking how often his name recurs (above, pp. 207, 209, 211, and 214, and nn. 14, 24, 38, 41, 66, and 72). Marcus Aurelius ushers in a very different period — a period to which, with his inappropriate and really malingering love of grammar and philosophy, he never adapted himself. Until his reign the central powers encouraged, at most restrained. Their attempts to control private enterprise were very slight and uncoordinated. Thereafter coercion became increasingly the rule, until every citizen was enrolled in some kind of compulsory capacity, or *militia*, as it was called.

In preparation for this later militarization, the army had long played a part in imperial aid to the provinces. The point should be emphasized. In the production of stone and brick and in the supplying of general crude manpower for construction of all kinds, soldiers were clearly much used. Their regular duties fitted them for such work. The organization or army work-gangs may have been copied by the foremen assigning portions of a job to the different civilian gilds employed;<sup>109</sup> and civilian building experts were arranged by Hadrian "into cohorts and centuries."<sup>110</sup> But the army made another contribution. Even in the first two centuries, long before the "Barrack Emperors," military technicians had begun to jostle the Greek specialist, and after a while almost replaced him. Military architects, engineers (especially hydraulic engineers), surveyors, and qualified overseers were employed more and more, partly because they were regularly trained in the legions and thus always available; partly because the conditions of prosperity favoring their civilian counterparts vanished; partly because the demands of the state for defense and mobilization of resources grew louder. In the drawing up of tax cadasters, in the founding of new colonies at threatened points, and in the raising of walls and towers, the soldier-surveyor or engineer was essential.

So pervasive an influence on building in the provinces might be expected to show itself in a changing style of Roman architecture. The question is somewhat obscure; but some relation between civilian and military architecture — how close a relation it is for the experts to say — can be seen in the city-planning<sup>111</sup> and in the *fora* of provincial

centers.<sup>112</sup> It has even been suggested that the design of Trajan's *forum* was based on an army model.<sup>113</sup> As for the very heart of the state, the emperor's palace, this increasingly resembled a camp, for the soldier-emperors of the fourth century.<sup>114</sup>

## NOTES

1. Building in and near Rome has produced a very large literature, for example (among more recent works), F. W. Shipley, "Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome," *Washington University Studies*, N.S. 4, St. Louis 1933, and his "Chronology of the building operations in Rome from the death of Caesar to the death of Augustus," *Memoirs of the Am. Acad. in Rome* 9 (1931) 7–60; H. G. Ramsay, "A third century a.C. building program," *L'Antiquité Classique* 4 (1935) 419–447 and 5 (1936) 147–176; and F. C. Bourne, "The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians," Diss. Princeton 1946. But building in the provinces has not been covered in any single work. For bibliography see the various studies cited in the notes below.

2. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.1, p. 548.

3. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 1.25, p. 531; below, n. 24.

4. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 1.8, pp. 489ff. (Favorinus of Arles, the friend of Hadrian); 2.9, p. 582; and Agathias, ed. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci minores* 207–8.

5. The emperors' ideas of their roles in the world were reflected here as elsewhere. Those most crazed or inflated by their power attempted the biggest projects. So the Corinth canal was begun by Caligula and continued by Nero (Suet. *Calig.* 21; *Nero* 19). Even Vespasian tried his hand (Josephus *Bell. Iud.* 3.10.10). Hadrian struck a pose of a different sort: witness a whole city in Egypt founded in memory of his favorite Antinoüs, and a sort of mausoleum in Narbonnensis for his horse Borysthenes. The analogy with Alexander and Bucephalus is clear (Dio 69.11.2–3; 69.10.2; and *CIL* 12.1122, if genuine). The building activities of Domitian and Constantine also reflect strong and peculiar ideas of what the emperor should do and be.

6. Samuel Johnson's famous and beautiful passage (*Rasselas* chap. 32) is not fact, but it certainly strikes the right note: "I consider this mighty structure (the pyramid) as a monument of the insufficiency of human wants. A king whose power is unlimited, and whose treasures surmount all real and imaginary wants, is compelled to solace, by the erection of a pyramid, the satiety of dominion and tastelessness of pleasures, and to amuse the tediousness of declining life by seeing thousands labouring without end, and one stone, for no purpose, laid upon another."

7. The propaganda value of great monuments is obvious. M. P. Charlesworth has written about it in his "Propaganda and the creation of belief," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 23, pp. 105–127. The monumental works of Augustus, like the *Ara Pacis*, are particularly good examples.

8. Pliny *Ep.* 10.41. See also 10.23 and 37, where Pliny urges this or that as demanded by the *nitor saeculi tui*, or *saeculo tuo dignissimum*.

9. For Nicopolis, founded by Augustus, see A. C. Johnson in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1933–1940, 2.635. For Timgad,

founded by Trajan, see R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1913, 363–364. For Tralles, see Agathias, ed. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci minores* 207–208; Chaeremon asked for help in rebuilding the city “for the colony,” though Tralles never became a colony, as D. Magie points out in his *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, 2.1332. For Theveste, founded by Trajan, see J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1913, 279: “There is strong reason to think that the municipality was set going by the (Third) Legion itself before its departure, and the earliest public buildings were constructed by the soldiers’ hands, or under their supervision, and probably at the cost of the imperial exchequer.” For Verecunda near Timgad, *ibid.* 284. For Nîmes, founded by Augustus, see *CIL* 12.3151: *Augustus . . . portas murosque coloniae dat*. For Vienne, see M. E. Esperandieu, *Inscriptions latines de Gaule*, Paris 1929, no. 263: *Augustus . . . muros portasque coloniae dat*. For Iader in Dalmatia, see *CIL* 3.2907: *Augustus parens coloniae murum et turris dedit*. For Philippopolis, see *CIL* 3, p. 7409 (*ILS* 5337): *Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus (etc.; titles of 172) murum civitati Philippopolis (dedit) . . . Ἡ τῆς Θράκης Φιλίπποπόλις [ἐκ δοθέντων] αὐτῇ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Σεβαστοῦ Μάρκου*, etc. See below, n. 100.

10. In a superficial check of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy in the *Econ. Survey*, I found — for what the figures are worth — mention of one gate, one bridge, one camp, one temple, one temple door, one portico, two aqueducts, two harbors, two city walls, two gymnasia, two baths, and four market places built or restored wholly or largely by the emperors. For other projects undertaken by the army, see table, p. 218.

11. Aristides, in Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.9, p. 582, “lamented (Smyrna’s) fate to Marcus in such moving words that the Emperor frequently groaned . . . he consented to rebuild the city.” But the Stoic emperor was especially susceptible to appeals from his fellow men: he may have spoken personally in favor of aid to Rhodes, Carthage, and Cyzicus (Fronto, ed. Loeb Classical Library, vol. II, pp. 40 and 280). Cyzicus had suffered from earthquakes. In the earlier catastrophe of 17, twelve great cities were damaged, and ten million sesterces and five years’ remission of taxes were promised (Tac. *Anni* 2.47). This extraordinary generosity, shown again for the same cause in 22/23, was commemorated by an issue of Tiberius’ sesterces, and by the erecting of a colossal statue of the emperor by the grateful cities of Asia Minor. A like statue was put up by fourteen beneficiary cities in 30. See M. Hammond, “A statue of Trajan represented in the ‘Anaglypha Traiani,’ ” *Memoirs of the Am. Acad. in Rome* 21 (1953) 162–164. Similar relief was often granted later. See Tac. *Ann.* 4.13; Suet. *Tib.* 8; Agathias, ed. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci minores* 207–208.

12. Such is the order of names to be drawn from a check of the *Econ. Survey*. Obviously no precise “scoreboard” is worth attempting, but the sequence in which the emperors are to be placed is confirmed in various ways. See the *Econ. Survey* 5.95–101 *passim*; 4.716–734 and 747–794 *passim* and especially 734; and Heichelheim, *ibid.* 4.246, who says of Syria: “There were various periods in which the state as a builder was especially eminent. Augustus and his friends and allies like Herod were the first to take in hand remarkable public works. The reigns of Trajan and Hadrian in particular were noted for the construction of military buildings, roads, canals, and ports . . . Septimius

Severus and his dynasty spent much money adorning the towns of Syria which had been friendly to them and in reconstructing the frontier fortifications. A new but not the last period of increased state building dawned under the Emperors Diocletian and Constantine.<sup>13</sup> In Rome, brick production was stepped up in a way roughly corresponding to building activities in the provinces: notably under the Flavians and Hadrian (H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi* etc., Roma 1947, 321ff. and 336). Hadrian made a deep impression on the primary sources. Compare SHA *Had.* 19.2, "in almost every city he built some building," and 19.9, "he built public buildings in all places and without number." For Diocletian, see C. E. Van Sickle in *Classical Philology* 25 (1930) 173ff., especially p. 177.

13. Suet. *Vesp.* 8: *deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat: vacuas areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicunque permisit.*

14. SHA *Had.* 18.2, cited and explained with reference to the building industry by Bloch, *I bolli* 325.

15. See F. F. Abbot and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration of the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, 283 (=Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 27; ILS 6086): *Ne quis in oppido . . . aedificium detegito neive demolito neive disturbato . . .*; *ibid.* 378 (=Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 30b; ILS 6089; CIL 2.1964), *Ne quis in oppido . . . aedificium detegito destruito demoliundumve curato . . .* See also Hadrian's letter to Stratonicea, *ibid.* 405 (=IGRR 4. 1156a), telling the city fathers *τὴν οἰκίαν Τι[βη] Κλαυδίου Σωκράτους . . . ἡ ἐπισκεναζέτω Σωκράτης ἡ ἀποδό[σ]θω τινὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ὡς μὴ χρόνῳ [καὶ ᾧ]μελίαι καταριφθεῖν.*

16. Ulpian on provincial building is quoted in *Dig.* 1.16.7.1.

17. For Pliny on building in Bithynia, see *Ep.* 10.37, 39, 40, and 49.

18. On Nerva's and Trajan's legislation authorizing cities to receive bequests and enforcing the fulfilment of campaign promises, see the *Cambridge Ancient History* 11.193 and 209. Macer (*Dig.* 50.10.3.1) cites the opinions against undertaking *opera publica* at municipal expense without the emperor's permission.

19. Above, p. 220.

20. For calls to finance public building from the *aerarium*, *res privata* or *fiscus*, see T. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*<sup>2</sup> 2.1126ff.; Tac. *Ann.* 2.47 and 4.13, where, to cities damaged by earthquake, Tiberius promised remission of taxes for three and five years to *aerarium* or *fiscus*; and below, n. 104.

21. What we know of the financing of public projects must be rather uncertainly deduced from inscriptions and from the practice in the capital. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*<sup>2</sup> 2.1126ff., and O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, ed. 2, Berlin 1904, 267–269. The principal texts are CIL 6.8480, of the late second century, mentioning for the first time an *exsactor operum dominorum*; 11.3860, of NN Aug. l. a *commentarius operum publicorum et rationis patrimonii*; 10.529, giving evidence for a possible separate account of the *patrimonium* in the second century through NN Aug. n. *dispensator rat(ioris) aed(ium) sacr(arum) et oper(um) publicor(um)*; and 6.8478, NN Aug. dis[p.] *operum publicorum*. Four inscriptions belong together: CIL 6.1585 (=ILS 5920); 6.8480; 10.6657 (=ILS 1387); and *Année epigr.* 1945 no. 80. They deal with a request sent in by a certain *Adrastus Augg. nn. lib., procurator columnae divi Marci*, who wished to build a caretaker's house near the column at his own expense, paying the usual rent for the site. The request, received by

the *rationales* of the *fiscus*, was handled ultimately by a *procurator operum publicorum et fiscalium urb(is) sacrae* and an *exsactor operum dominicorum*, by whom the bricks, beams, etc., necessary for the house were released to Adrastus from imperial warehouses.

22. Above, n. 11.

23. See E. Babelon, "Les monnaies de Septime Sévère, de Caracalla et de Géta relatives à l'Afrique," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 16 (1903) 160ff. The tax to pay for the aqueduct had been imposed by Hadrian and ceased to be demanded under Septimius Severus. Babelon's arguments seem somewhat flimsy, but are accepted by Broughton in the *Econ. Survey* 4.75.

24. *IGRR* 3.659. See Magie, *Roman Rule* 1.530. And the like in *IGRR* 507: "Vespasian built the baths by money which he saved the city (of Cadyanda)." For other, rare, instances of the central government and municipalities jointly contributing to *opera publica*, see *ILS* 5350, of 83, in Sardinia, where a *proc. Aug. praef. prov. Sardin... itinera municipi C[aralit.] sternenda et clo[ca]f]aciendas et t[e]g[endas] p. p. et privata [curavit]*; *CIL* 2.3269, from Castulo in Tarracensis, under Claudius, cited by F. C. Bourne, *The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians*, Princeton 1946, 43; *CIL* 2.2477, of 79, where the *leg. Aug. pr. pr., proc. Aug., and civitates X* join in building something; and T. Mommsen, "Römische Urkunden," *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft* 15 (1850) 289: *[ad ornandam coloni]am Iul. Aug. Vi[nafrum Imp. Caesar August. pro parte di]midia p. s. f. c. id[emque probavit, reliquum pec. pub]lica factum e[st]*; and *CIL* 9.6075, where Hadrian bears two thirds of the cost of a road for Beneventum, the city the rest.

25. *ILS* 2666a is an inscription dedicated to a certain benefactor of Tufici in Umbria, who *proxime quoque petitioni nostrae ab optimo maximoque principe Antonino Aug. Pio vectigal viae silici stratae ita institisse ut mature impetraretur ut impensis urbicis res p(ublica) beneficio eius relevaretur* — the petition being, as Dessaix explains, for the *ius vectigalis exigendi*. *CIL* 8.10327–8 reads: *ex auctoritate imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Pii p. p. via a Milevitani munita ex indulgentia eius de vectigali rotari*. The tax is evidently exacted from wheeled traffic passing a certain point. A similar practice is seen in Alexander Severus' grants of *vectigalia civitatibus ad proprias fabricas* (*SHA Alex. Sev.* 21.1).

26. H. G. Ramsay, "A third century a.C. building program," *L'antiquité classique* 4 (1935) 428, mentions a tax set aside by Alexander Severus for the restoration of a theater in Rome. The same was done in Constantinople by a tax on trades for the city baths (*CT* 15.1.52, a.424).

27. Provincial practice was no doubt like Rome's. *CIL* 6.1585 (=*ILS* 5920) shows the *rationales* requesting, therefore, *aream quam demonstraverit Adrastus lib. domini n. adsignari ei iubeatis*. *CIL* 6.814 mentions building *in loco qui designatus erat per Flavianum Sabinum operum publicorum curatore*.

28. Three inscriptions tell us a lot about the process. *IGRR* 4.1431 from Smyrna lists the division of tasks for some unknown public work: to some men the actual work, *Κλ. Βάσσος ἀγωνοθέτης Νεμέσεων στρώσειν τὴν βασιλικήν*; to others the payment of certain sums, *Φοῦσκος ἔργον ποιήσειν μν(ριάδων) ζ'*; the final provision being for the spending of *όσα ἐπετύχομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου κατόπειτον Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμωνος*. A second inscription in W. H. Buckler, "Labour disputes in the province of Asia," *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, Manchester 1923, 34ff., records the

question put to an oracle by "the builders associated with E . . . Epigonus . . . being the contractors for that part of the theater in which Ulpianus Heros, the interpreter of the god, superintends and Menophilus, the architect, gives out the work — (should they) execute the arching and vaulting over the columns? or should they consider employment given by their native city or employment of some other kind?" See the *Econ. Survey* 4.837–838. A third inscription, A. Joubin and A. Wilhelm, "Inscriptions de Chalcis," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 16 (1892) no. 7, pp. 102ff., lists τίνες καὶ ποιών ἔργων ἐπιμεληταὶ κατέστησαν καὶ σσα εἴδη, καθ' ἔτος ἔκαστον ἐκ τῆς τρίτης ἐπιν(εμεθείσης) ἐκ τῶν πολειτικῶν προσόδων εἰς λόγον τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρισθέντων ἔργων κομιζεοθαί ἀριστησαν, along with timbers and bricks which each *epimeletes* is allowed. On this see W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig 1900, 144, 384, and 390. In general, "The work upon a building was not carried on by a contractor who in turn found the workmen and the materials, but by the public overseers who had to deal separately for their materials . . . and with the individuals or groups of workmen" (*Econ. Survey* 4.837).

29. Tac. *Ann.* 247 and 4.53. The L. Vestinus of the latter passage is mentioned also in Claudius' speech on the Lyonnais. There are other instances in *IGRR* 3.1287, a.262–3; 4.902, from Cibyra in Claudius' time; *CIL* 9.1160, which gives the whole *cursus honorum*; and, most famous of all, Claudius' freedman Narcissus who was in charge of the Fucine Lake excavations, and thus had 30,000 men under him for eleven years (Dio 61[60].33.5; Suet. *Claudius* 20.2). See in general Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*<sup>2</sup> 266–267 and 271–272; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung* 384; E. De Ruggiero, *Lo stato e le opere pubbliche in Roma antica*, Torino 1925, 128–134; and Agathias, ed. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci minores* 207–208. In and around Rome, supervisors were for the first two centuries more often imperial freedmen, thereafter men of high rank.

30. *CIL* 9.1160, in Venusia; 9.2655, in Aesernia; and 9.1419, a *curator operis thermarum* in Beneventum. The first two of these men were given other jobs in their cities by Antoninus Pius. In *CIL* 10.1266, in Nola, we have a *curator operum publicorum datus a divo Aug. Vespasiano*. C. Germain de Montauzan, *Les aqueducs antiques de Lyon*, Paris 1908, 370, supposes that these were all military engineers. I take them for local magnates risen in the service of the state, sent out like some Pliny *in petto*.

31. *CIL* 3.6588, *P. Rubirius Barbarus praef. Aegypti posuit, architectante Pontio*, early in Augustus' reign; 10.1443 and 1446 at Herculaneum, *L. Annius . . . theatr. orch. s. p., P. Numisius P. f. architectus*; *IGRR* 3.1287, from Arabia, τὸ τ(ε)ῖχος ἐκ δωρεᾶς τοῦ Σεβ., προνοίᾳ Στατιλίου Ἀμμιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου διέποντος τὴν Ἱγειμονίαν, ἐφεστῶτος Ἰου(λίου) Ἰσιδώρου [στρ]άτορας, υφηγ[ήσει] Οὐήρου ἀρχιτέκτονος . . .

32. Plut. *Crass.* 2.4.

33. "It is extremely probable that . . . in the cities of Asia Minor there were public architects permanently in the service of the communities" (*Econ. Survey* 4.850). The various titles of architects, builders, and technical supervisors in towns are explained by Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung* 384. They worked together in a pattern so fixed as to be called a "system" (*Econ. Survey* 4.837). Not to detract from the greater glory of the man who paid them, however, it was unusual for them to record their names on their work, and they are more often

known only from their profession written on their gravestones. To this rule there are exceptions, e.g., the architect of the theater at Pompeii (*CIL* 10.841); of the temple at Puteoli (*CIL* 10.1614); of a *porticus* at Sapona (*CIL* 10.8093); of an arch at Verona (*CIL* 5.3464); and of another arch at Antipolis in Gallia Narbonnensis (*CIL* 12.186: *Sextus Iulius Caesar, architectus*, probably an imperial freedman).

34. *CIL* 6.5738, 8725–6, and 9151–2.
35. *Architecti Augusti* appear in *CIL* 8.2850, from the third legion; 10.1757, a veteran of the second praetorian cohort; and 11.20, a *miles coh. XII urb. et coh. IIII pr. ordinatus architectus, tesserarius in centuria, b(eneficiarius), etc.*
36. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 1.3.
37. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 1.11.
38. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 7, Preface, 15–16. C. Germain de Montauzan, *Essai sur la science et l'art de l'ingénieur aux premiers siècles de l'empire romain*, Paris 1909, 112, cites Vitruvius himself (Vitruvius Pollio, the author), Vitruvius Rufus, another author on surveying, and Vitruvius Cerdö of *CIL* 5.3464, whose freedman inscribes himself *architectus* in Verona. He even supposes (*ibid.* 16) that there were imperial schools for architects. Hadrian himself really belongs in this group of what we might call *ἀρχιτέκτονες μουσικοί* or cultured technicians. He apparently drew the plans for a colossus of the Moon (SHA *Had.* 19.13), attempted plans for Trajan's forum, odeon, and gymnasium (Dio 69.4.2), and did plan the temples of Venus and Roma, all at Rome (Dio 69.4.3).
39. Martial, *Epigrams* 7.56. The mansion was erected for Domitian.
40. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 7, Preface, 14: "Many volumes have been published by the Greeks (on architecture), exceedingly few by our writers" — amplified in Preface, 15–17. *Ibid.*, 18: "While, therefore, our predecessors are found, no less than the Greeks, to have been great architects, and sufficiently many in our time, few of them have published their methods." He cites two Romans against dozens of Greeks, refers constantly to Greek sculptors, temples, theoreticians of the art, etc., and constantly and unnecessarily uses Greek technical terms. I owe to the kindness of Professor George Hanfmann two further references on the matter: G. Downey, "Byzantine architects, their training and methods," *Byzantium* 18 (1946–48) 99–118, who points out the Greek origins of much of the architectural tradition in the Roman Empire, who mentions also the elaboration of the art, but who finds it in its latest stages "much less ambitious, and also more practical, than the elaborate requirements which Vitruvius sets up" (p. 108); and a second article by J. M. C. Toynbee, "Some notes on artists in the Roman world," *Collection Latomus*, Bruxelles 1951, who lists more Roman architects in the first two centuries (pp. 11–13), but who generally finds the building arts, including mosaics, stone-cutting, and fresco painting, dominated by Greeks.
41. We happen to know very few names of architects in the emperors' employ. There is a certain Decrianus with whose aid — plus twenty-four elephants — Hadrian raised a colossus (SHA *Had.* 19.2). Apollodorus, who designed for Trajan the bridge over the Danube and the forum, odeon, and gymnasium in the capital, was certainly Greek, from Damascus, though it is not quite accurate to call him an imperial favorite of Hadrian also. That emperor killed him, for a slight. See *RE* under Apollodorus no. 73. Severus and Celer were architects for Nero's ambitious fancies, *magistri et machinatores* (*Tac. Ann.*

15.42; Suet. *Nero* 31.3); "Gallienus deputed Cleodamus and Athenaeus the Byzantines to repair and fortify the cities" (SHA *Gallieni* 13.6). It is hard to say how much Roman copying of Greek models in architecture generally indicates the use of Greek architects, and the subject is best left to the surmises of the specialists, who at any rate do not always agree. See for example, on the possible derivation from Antioch of the plans for Diocletian's palace, E. Hébrard and J. Zeiller, *Spalato, Le palais de Dioclétien*, Paris 1912, 158–159, versus J. Strzygowski, "Spalato, etc." in *Studien um Kunst und Geschichte Friedrich Schneider zum 70sten Geburtstage*, 332ff. G. T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture and its Principles of Construction under the Empire*, tr. G. McN. Rushforth, Oxford 1925, 84–86 and 130, argues quite unconvincingly that the best architects were Roman, not imported.

42. Hébrard and Zeiller, *Spalato* 153, deduce Greek artists from one Ζωτικός and from Greek letters as masons' marks on marble. See, for Africa, J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Tripolitania and the marble trade," *JRS* 41 (1951) 94 and 101; for Italy, sculptors and stone-cutters from a center of the art in Aphrodisias, especially under the Antonines, in the *Econ. Survey* 4.834.

43. *JRS* 41 (1951) 101.

44. The useful distinction between artist-architect and contractor-builder is made by G. Giovannoni, *La tecnica della costruzione presso i Romani*, Roma 1925, 12 n.1. For an exception to the East-West artist-technician division, see Pliny, *Ep.* 10.40, where Trajan speaks of getting most of his surveyors from the East.

45. M. E. Blake, *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy*, Washington, D.C., 1947, 288 and the *Econ. Survey* 5.208. Despite various guesses, the location of the *figlina* is unknown. It was imperial property at least by Tiberius' time. There was also some transport of bricks to Rome from places up-Tiber and from Rome to nearby villas, and in the Western provinces legionary brickyards served wide areas. See above, p. 216.

46. Town-owned brick-yards are known from Portus, Tusculum, Siscia, and Gloucester. See *CIL* 15.5a and b, 6, 7a and b; 3.4671; and the *Econ. Survey* 3.102–3.

47. The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* in Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 128; E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters*, Oxford 1912, 34 (section LXXVI).

48. An example of a municipal brick-stamp, from Siscia, in *Ephem. Epigr.* 2.434, nos. 925–9.

49. "The manufacture and sale of brick in the Fayum was evidently under government control. This may have been limited to kilns for making burnt brick, and it is probable that the ordinary mud brick could be made by anyone . . . Another yard was evidently controlled by the village elders . . . A pottery in the Hermopolite nome, apparently confiscated by the state, was leased to private contractors. If we except the examples of monopolistic conditions in the Fayum, there is no evidence for government control in this industry (in Egypt)" (*Econ. Survey* 2.330–1). For Morocco, see R. Thouvenot, "Les manufactures impériales au Maroc romain," *Publications du service des antiquités du Maroc* 10 (1954) 214, where stamps are mentioned reading EX FIGVLN CAES N. They show considerable activity in the mid-second century. There are seven groups of stamps in Morocco, hence, Thouvenot says, seven *figlinae*. For Britain, see the bricks in the baths at Silchester, stamped *Ner(onis) Cl(audi)*

*Cae(saris) Aug(usti) Ger(manici)*, and at Pevensey *Hon(orii) Aug(usti) Andria( . . . )*, in G. C. Boon, *Roman Silchester*, London 1957, 108; in the *Econ. Survey* 3.103; and in R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, ed. 2, Oxford 1937, 238.

50. "Roman Britain in 1955," *JRS* 46 (1956) 149.

51. The variants include P PR BR, P BR LON, P BRRI LO[N], P P BR LON, P P BRI LON, P BRI SAN, and P RRT LON. The last should of course be emended P BRT. See J. Szilagyi, "Die Besatzungen de Verteidigungssystem von Dazien und ihre Ziegelstempel," *Diss. Pannonicae*, Ser. II no. 21, Budapest 1946, no. XVIII 268 on p. 56, where the same abbreviation, BRT, occurs in the stamp CoH(ors) II Br(i)T(annica). The variants can be found in the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)*, vol. 3: *Roman London*, London 1928, 176.

52. *Econ. Survey* 3.15; G. Home, *Roman London, A.D. 43-457*, London 1948, 266; *CIL* 7.1235; and *Royal Comm.* 3.176. These authorities assume that where P P occurs the second P refers to the province.

53. R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times*, London Museum Catalogue 3, London 1930, 50; Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain* 164.

54. *Econ. Survey* 3.15. Tacitus uses the word *publice*. The passage has been confirmed by an inscription (G. Webster, "Roman Britain: the trend of recent ideas," *Greece and Rome*, Ser. 2, 5 [1958], p. 24.)

55. *Royal Comm.* 3.176.

56. *CIL* 7.1331, nos. 91, 95, and 102-104.

57. Suet. *Nero* 19.2: "(Nero) was the first to dig out the earth with a mattock . . ."; and Dio 65 [66].10.2: "(Vespasian) was himself the first to carry a load of soil . . ."

58. See *CIL* 8.2728, in Saldae, where *redemptores* are implied; 9.4694, in Reate, a *redemptor oper. Caesarum*; and 5.977, citing two men active in Bithynia, whom Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*<sup>2</sup> 266 n.1, calls *redemptores* in a senatorial province.

59. *CIL* 6.9034 reads: *Ti. Clau]dius Aug. l. Onesimus [rede]mptor operum Caesar(is) quinq[uennalis] coll(egii) fabr(um) tigmua(rum)*, dated in 79-83 by J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, Louvain 1895-1900, 4.350. It is not accurate to call Onesimus a gildmaster in any medieval sense, but there can be no doubt that his official position in the gild of carpenters was essential to his profession of contractor.

60. I. A. Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, Oxford 1930, 259 and 66.

61. *CIL* 3.1979 and *Patria* 2.58, p. 182, 7 (Preger), quoted in Richmond, *City Wall* 66 nn. 1-2; and *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, edd. G. Brett et al., London 1947, 87.

62. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 3.10.10, mentions 6000 young Jewish prisoners working on Vespasian's Corinth canal, and Suet. *Nero* 31.3, speaks of convict labor for an artificial lake and a canal in Italy. Convicts were often used in quarries.

63. De Ruggiero, *Lo stato* 170 and n.1 cites *CIL* 9.2828; *Imp. C(aesare) T.Aelio Had(riano) Ant(onino) Aug . . . lacum purgatum operis (=laboribus) paganorum n(ostrorum); 8.8828 from Mauretania muros paganenses Seteitanis per popul(ares) suos fecit . . .*; and 8.8701 from Mauretania; . . . *Severus Alexander . . . muros kastelli Dianesis extruxit per colonos eiusdem kastelli*. On

imperial estates in Africa we see the *coloni* apparently forced to make bricks. R. Clausing, *The Roman Colonate*, New York 1925, pp. 143 and 291.

64. Vitruvius, *De arch.* 1, Preface, 2; *RE* under Apollodorus no. 73; and above, n. 41. Strabo 12.8.11 speaks of the "three architects who have charge of the public buildings and the engines of war" at Cyzicus, quoted in the *Econ. Survey* 4.850. The connection between architecture and military engineering goes back to Hellenistic science generally.

65. For *architecti* overseeing quarries, see *CIG* 4713d-e from Mons Claudianus; for others in charge of instruments of war, see *CIL* 11.630, as explained by A. von Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 117 (1908) 25. For a different explanation, see above, n. 35. Because of the identity between civil and military engineers, it is usually impossible to say what duties a *miles architectus Augusti* may have had. *Architecti* specifically *armamentarii*, as in *CIL* 6.2725, are exceptional. *Architecti navales* were, I suppose, half concerned with ordinary ship-building, half with naval artillery. Inscriptions are of no help, e.g., *CIL* 10.3392 and 5371; 12.753.

66. For *mensores aedificiorum* so numerous as to be organized in a *collegium* and with *tabularii* attached, see *CIL* 3.2129; 6.1975, 8933, and 9622-5; and 14.3032 and 3713; Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*<sup>2</sup> 267; and *RE* under *Mensor* coll. 957-9. There are a few other civilian engineers and surveyors in or near Rome, on special duty: the *architecti* whom Frontinus employed for the aqueducts (*De aquis* 2.100) or the *mensores* whom Macer ignored, on the Via Appia (Martial, *Epigrams* 10.17). Others are encountered abroad (*CIL* 3.2128), sometimes settling boundary disputes like the *mensor missus ab ipso, sc. Hadriano*, in *Année epigr.* 1942-3, no. 35. Vespasian, according to *CIL* 10.8038, wrote to local magistrates in Corsica: *scripsi ei, sc. procuratori mei, et mensorem misi*. Some were attached to imperial domains, like *Tiberius Aug. lib. praepositus mesorum in Africa* (*CIL* 8.25988; see also 8.12637-9, cited in *RE* under *Mensor* col. 958).

67. A *discens mensor(um)* in *CIL* 6.32536; a *discens libratorum* working on a Numidian aqueduct in *Année epigr.* 1942-3 no. 93; and a *discens architecti* practicing on a *furnus*(?) in Germany under Septimius Severus in *CIL* 13.7945. For the careers of these specialists see *RE* under *Mensor* coll. 957ff.; Germain de Montauzan, *Essai* 115; Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* 46; and *Diz. Epigr.* under *Legio* p. 608.

68. Pliny *Ep.* 10.42; *CIL* 8.2728; and *Année epigr.* 1942-3 no. 93. They are apparently posted to the governor's headquarters or lent from their own units in *CIL* 3.6025 and 8201.

69. *CIL* 6.2725 gives the typical career, of a certain C. Vedennius who *militavit in legione XVI Gallia annis X, translatus in cohortem IX praetoriam, in qua militavit annis VIII, missus honesta missione, revocatus ab imperatore, factus evocatus Augusti, architectus armamentarii imperatoris, etc.* There is a *miles coh. X pr. Scipionis men(sor) lib(rator)* in *CIL* 6.2754; a *librator et tesserarius coh. II pr. evocatus Aug.* in *CIL* 6.2454; a *discens mens(oris) cohortis IIII praetoriae* in *CIL* 6.32526; and we learn from Suet. *Nero* 19.2 that when Nero tried to cut the isthmus of Corinth, *praetorianos pro contione ad incohandum opus cohortatus est . . .* For the concentration of technicians in the praetorian guard, see M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétoriennes*, Paris 1938, 115.

70. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.18 and 40.

71. (Aurelius Victor) *Epitome de Caesaribus* 14.5. L. Marius Vitalis seems to have been a member of Hadrian's suite. In his verse epitaph (*CIL* 6.8991 = *ILS* 7741) we are told how, *consummatus litteris . . . artificium disserem, discessi ad urbe in praetorio Hadriani Aug. Caesar*. He died in the midst of his studies.

72. See the *evocatus Augusti* sent by the proconsul C. Gellius Augurinus to solve a boundary dispute between Lamia and Hypata, on the orders of Hadrian *adhibitis mensoribus* (*CIL* 3.586 and 12306, cited in *RE* under *Mensor* col. 958); and Hyginus Gromaticus 121.7, ed. Thulinin *Corpus agrimensorum* p. 84: *Nuper ecce quidam evocatus Augusti, vir militaris disciplinae, professionis quoque nostrae capacissimus, cum in Pannoniam agros veteranis ex voluntate et liberalitate imperatoris Traiani Augusti Germanici adsignaret*. The last did the job so well that there was never a boundary dispute later. There is a third instance from Antoninus Pius' time, of a *lapis finalis* set up *determinate Blesia Taurino mil(ite) coh(ortis) VI pr. me(n)sore agrario*, in F. Blume, K. Lachmann, and A. Rudorff, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, Berlin 1848–52, 1.251.

73. Gaius Caligula had planned *ante omnia Isthnum in Achaia perfodere, miseratque iam ad dimetiendum opus primipilarem* (*Suet. Calig.* 21). For other famous canals and the like which fell to the legions to dig, see Pliny *N.H.* 3.119; *Suet. Aug.* 18.2; *Tac. Ann.* 11.20 and 13.53; *SHA Probus* 9; Dio 51.18.1 and 61[60].30.6; and Amm. Marc. 28.2.3, a.369.

74. *CIL* 8.2728, translated below, and W. Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenarum*, Elberfeldae 1867, no. 1377, 16, a brick stamped *L(egio) X(IX) M(arialis)* found "inter ipsas Romani aqueductus pilas prope Dalheim."

75. *CIL* 8.2728 (= *ILS* 5795), a.152, on which see T. Mommsen, "Tunnelbau in Saldae (Bougie) unter Antoninus Pius," *Archäologische Zeitung* 28 (1871) 5ff. The translation of R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, London 1888, 61, quoted in C. Herschel, *Frontinus and the Water Supply of the City of Rome*, New York-London 1913, 12–13, bears scant resemblance to the Latin. Considering Nonius Datus' troubles, it is pleasant that he should have titled the three surviving columns of the inscription *Patientia, Virtus, Spes*.

76. Vegetius, *De re militare* 1.7 and 2.11. These workmen were well rewarded. *Dig.* 50.6.7 (Tarruntenus Paternus) decrees immunity from heavy *munera* to *mensores, artifices et qui fossam faciunt, architecti, fabri, ii qui calcem cocunt*, etc.

77. For soldiers commonly used to oversee quarries, see for example the *Econ. Survey* 2.242 and 4.463–464 and F. Cumont, "Les carrières romaines d'Enesh," as chap. IV of his *Études Syriennes*, Paris 1917, 159–160.

78. *IGRR* 1.1138, cited in the *Econ. Survey* 2.637.

79. J. and P. Steiner, "Ein römischer Legionsziegelofen bei Xanten," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 110 (1903) 70–109 *passim*; F. Sprater, *Das römische Rheinzabern*, Speyer 1948, 79ff.; *CIL* 13 fasc. 2.1 pp. 420–421. Two of these kilns were in use for three centuries, worked at various times by detachments from many different legions; were divided, at least at Xanten, into about twenty *officinae*; and served a very wide area. The Second Parthica had a brickyard at Lago di Nemi (*CIL* 14.4090, 2); the First Cohort of Archers at Drobeta (M. Macrea, "Note au sujet des briqueteries en Dacie," *Dacia* 11–12 [1945–47] 275–280), and many other legionary brickyards are known in Britain and along the Rhine.

80. Bricks from army kilns have been found in the two baths at Hofheim (*CIL* 13 fasc. 2.1 p. 420); in the baths at Drobeta (*Dacia* 11–12 [1945–47] 279,

citing *Année épigr.* 1939 p. 242 no. 19); in the city wall of Romula (D. Tudor, "Obergermanische Vexillationen der Legio XXII Primigenia bei Romula in Dakien," *Germania* 25 [1941] 239–240); in the baths, basilica, and other public buildings of Trèves of the later fourth century (J. Steinhausen, *Archäologische Siedlungskunde des Trierer Landes*, Trier 1936, 435); and in an aqueduct near Dalheim (*CIRh.* 1377 no. 16). The Twenty-Second Primigenia was one of the legions most active in the brick-making in Germany, and products of its kilns went to the building of Trajan's new colony at Vetera, the modern Xanten (*RE* under *Legio* col. 1804).

81. This table makes no pretense to completeness, but it presumably affords a fair cross-section of the evidence. Roads (with one exception), bridges, and evidence from literary sources to be found elsewhere (above, nn. 9, 69, 73, and 80) have been excluded. That soldiers could turn their hands to temples, porticos, amphitheaters, baths, aqueducts, and the like for their own use is lavishly shown in the great permanent camps, notably at Lambaesis; but these structures have been excluded too. See *CIL* 8.2572, 2579, 2654, 2671 (Lambaesis) and 3.3525, 10489 and 10492 (Aquincum). When army settlements fused with civilian settlements (above, p. 219) the line between buildings for military and civilian use is hard to draw.

82. Envoy to Valens, Zosimus 4.13; and to Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 271 lines 9–10.

83. SHA *Gallieni* 13.6.

84. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung* 141; *CT* 15.1.2, a.321, referring to "provincial governors, moreover, who must restore public works," and should make their reports promptly; *CIL* 13.5249, a wall built in 294 at Winterthur, *curante NN v. p.*; Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien* no. 318; and the stoa at Chalcis supervised in 364 by the proconsul of Africa, above, n. 28.

85. "At Autun, Constantius repaired the public baths and aqueducts with military labor and at his own expense"; Constantine repaired an aqueduct at Reims (Julian, *Hist. de la Gaule* 8.66 n.6; 7.91 n.4; and 8.227). In Africa there was rebuilding under Constantine, *hortante clementia dominorum nostrorum* (J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome-London 1952, no. 468); later under Constantine II, *beatissimo saeculo ddd. nnn. Fl. Constantini Maximi . . . fori holitori indulta paecunia*, in *CIL* 8.1408; and under Valentinian and Valens, *ex indulgentia dominorum divinorum principum Augg. q . . . forum transitorium cum aedem*, in *CIL* 8.2722. These unctuous civilities of course indicate some transfer of funds from the emperors.

86. The inactivity of brick-yards can be seen most significantly in Rome. See Bloch, *I belli* 339. For his palace, Diocletian apparently called on a private yard at Aquileia, by what arrangement we do not know (Hébrard and Zeiller, *Splato* 146). The building of Constantinople constitutes of course the most awesome achievement of the later Empire, and energies diverted to its foundations survived into the sixth century in the form of municipal brickyards (*The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* 28–9). But Diocletian, Constantine, and Valentinian are the only major exceptions to a general stagnation stretching on from the Severi.

87. The embarrassment was due to a desperate lack of labor — evidently of skilled labor, since convicts could be and were increasingly used. See A. E. R. Boak, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West*, Ann

Arbor 1955, 106-7; Waltzing, *Corporations* 2.237-38; and W. A. Brown, "State control of industry in the fourth century," *Political Science Quarterly* 2 (1887) 503.

88. In a typical expedient to increase municipal resources for building in Rome, various privileges were extended to lime-burners (*CT* 12.1.37, a.344 and 13.3.1-4, a.364-383); but the Romans began robbing the ancient monuments to sell the marble to the lime-burners (*CT* 9.17.2, a.349). The general situation in Rome and throughout the provinces — pillaging of public buildings for private houses, neglect of repairs, new construction left half-finished, and squatters living in public buildings or putting up highly inflammable hovels against their walls — is depressingly described in many laws: *CT* 15.1 *passim*, between the years 357 and 399.

89. SHA *Alex. Sev.* 44.4.

90. Diocletian's *Edict of Maximum Prices* (ed. E. R. Graser in an Appendix to the *Econ. Survey* vol. 5) 7.67, 71, and 74, lists payments of 200 *d.* per month per pupil to teachers of rhetoric, only 75 *d.* and 100 *d.* to teachers of arithmetic and architecture. So inappropriate a disproportion was corrected later by Constantine, badly in need of building skills for his new capital. He was forced to admit that "there is need of as many architects as possible, but because they do not exist . . .," youths should be urged to take up the study, in Africa, in return for salaries and exemptions to their parents (*CT* 13.4.1, a.334). Those already instructed should train others in mechanics, architecture and geometry (*CT* 13.4.3, a.344). "Artisans who dwell in each city and who practice the skills included in the appended list shall be free from all compulsory public services . . .," to practice and to teach (*CT* 13.4.2, a.337). The list mentions among other trades architects, mosaicists, *libratores*, and builders.

91. Amm. Marc. 28.2.3.

92. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule* 8.228 n.5.

93. *CT* 12.19.1, a.400. The law calls for the arrest and return of the fugitives. See also *Cod. Justin.* 6.15, in which Constantine cries out against the seducing away, by private employers, of municipal public slaves "skilled in certain trades." The trades almost certainly concern building.

94. The handling of a builders' strike in 459 in Sardis by the city's imperial *ekdikos* is especially instructive. He treats the builders with surprising fairness. See Buckler in *Anatolian Studies* 36-45. A more usual practice, however, is implied *per contra* by the provision of *CT* 13.4.4 that painters "shall not be forced by governors to make sacred imperial images or to embellish public works without pay."

95. In the midst of a widespread decline of city-life some cities actually grew bigger and richer. With a few exceptions they are imperial or military headquarters. Nicomedia under Diocletian (Lactantius, *De mort. persec.* 7) and Trier (Steinhausen, *Arch. Siedlungskunde* 321, 405, and 435) are the best examples.

96. A. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains*, Paris 1873, 206 and 207 n.1, mentions the prisoners, especially Christians, used to supply the stone and sand for Diocletian's Baths. We hear more of convict labor, e.g. in quarries, at this time, mainly because of the considerable literature of Christian martyrs. But building and quarry liturgies of non-convicts in Egypt began in the fourth century. See F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Leipzig 1917, 85-6; the *Econ. Survey*

2.242, adding P. Rainer 290 and P. Thead. 34; and K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1910, 124.

97. For lime burnt by professionals who were in turn paid from the yield of a special tax, see above n. 88; for wood, *CT* 11.16.15 of 382, and 18, of 390; for bricks, the *annua illatio* payable to Rome demanded by Theodosius (Cassiod. *Variae* 1.25; stones payable, *ibid.* 1.28), and possibly a similar system in Constantinople. The number of the induction marked on sixth-century bricks from Constantinople has been taken as proof of a tax in kind on that product (*The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* 28), though this, like the names of the consuls on Roman bricks, is probably no more than a convenient dating system (see E. Mamhoury, "Les briques byzantines," *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 120). We have no evidence from the provinces.

98. SHA *Probus* 9.

99. As Reid, *Municipalities* 283, says, "When the concessions of Septimius Severus permitted the soldier to live a family life in the *canabae*, merely resorting to the camps for reasons of service, the town settlements naturally increased in importance. The town (of Lambaesis) may have had a civic constitution even earlier. The buildings which were distinctive of a regular municipality were raised in it mainly by the soldiers' own hands."

100. *CIL* 13.7689, from Andernach in 202; 13.5249, from Winterthur in 294; Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien* no. 318, from Augst in 367–375; from Trier, Neumagen, Deutz, and Mainz, under Diocletian and Constantine, for which see R. Forrer, "Das römische Zaberne: Tres Tabernae," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Erhaltung der geschichtlichen Denkmäler im Elsass*, Ser. 2, 25 (1918) 144; and *IGRR* 3.1287, from Arabia in 262–3.

101. Some buildings, which the editors restore as [*murum, portas ac turrem*], were put up at the city's expense in 144 by Q. Porcius Vetustinus, procurator of Mauretania. He appears again in the inscription from Saldae, above, p. 215. He was then in charge of the Second Syrian Cavalry. See S. Gsell and J. Carcopino, "La base de M. Sulpicius Felix et le décret des decurions de Sala," *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist. de l'École Française de Rome* 48 (1931) 16, lines 14–16, and p. 23. A fragmentary inscription of 192 (*CIL* 13.8250) from Cologne reads: *milites . . . aedem . . . aere collocato . . . fecerunt*. This suggests a similar system of payment.

102. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung* 137–141 and A. Schulten, "Zwei Erlasse des Kaisers Valens über die Provinz Asia," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Arch. Instituts* 9 (1906) 58–9.

103. Above, n. 28.

104. Another inscription, the letter of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian of 370–1 in Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 270–2, makes provisions for the rebuilding of walls toppled by recent earthquakes by diverting to the task the income from crown estates. Reference to *certi partus* and other internal evidence has been used to link the text to the standard subsidy of one third. The matter is disputed by Schulten, *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* 9 (1906) and by R. Heberdey, "Zum Erlasse des Kaisers Valens an Eutropius," *ibid.* 183. References in the *Theodosian Code* either specify no single type of building (4.13.7; 15.1.18, 26, 32–3) or specify walls (4.13.5; 15.14.35). In the earliest of these texts (a.358), which deals with Africa, the proportion of taxes remitted is only one quarter. Famous big cities may use the funds of smaller places for their own projects (15.1.18).

and 26). The effect of this legislation on the wall-building of four African cities has been suggested by P. Pothier, "L'évolution municipale d'Altave," *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. de l'École Française de Rome* 68 (1956) 238-239.

105. P. Marconi, *Verona romana*, Verona 1937, 20-21; *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958) 27; and Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule* 7.19 n.4, 20, and 22 n.3. The dates range from 265 to 300, the cities include, among others, Verona, London, Bordeaux, and Neumagen. Aurelian's wall around Rome was most destructive to existing buildings, Richmond, *The City Wall* 11ff.

106. The *Lex Ursonensis* may be found in Bruns, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> 132ff., and Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters* 44ff.

107. *Dig. 50.4.4* (Ulpian): The care over building and repairs of public works in municipalities is a public burden. Frank, in the *Econ. Survey* 5.54 n.48, imagines, I think wrongly, that there is a reference in Dio 65[66].10.2 to voluntary corvées in Rome in 79.

108. *CT* 11.17.4 and 15.1.49 (a.407? 408? 412?). But there were some exemptions from wall-building *munera*, see *CT* 1.32.7; 11.16.15 and 18; and 15.1.5.

109. Very large projects like walls and aqueducts were always assigned in parts to different regiments. Of the many examples, the best are Hadrian's and Antoninus Pius' Walls. See G. Macdonald, "The building of the Antonine Wall: a fresh study of the inscriptions," *JRS* 11 (1921) 18-20 and *passim*, and E. Birley, "Building records from Hadrian's Wall," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, fourth series, 16 (1939) 224-225 and *passim*. Compare this with the procedure described above, p. 213.

110. Above, p. 215 and n. 71.

111. Roman town planning was often based on the outline of a Roman camp (D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, ed. 2, Cambridge 1954, 191-3). The fact is not surprising, considering the use of military *mensores* in the assigning of land, and of army architects for the main public structures of many colonies (above, n. 9).

112. The influence of military architecture on the Romano-British *forum* seems probable, granted apparent resemblances in plan and the connection between army and civilian training discussed above. See G. Rodenwaldt in *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 339; D. Atkinson, *Report on Excavations at Wroxeter*, 1923-1927, Oxford 1942, Appendix C pp. 345-362; R. G. Goodchild, "The origins of the Romano-British Forum," *Antiquity* 20 (1946) 70-77; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Severan art and architecture at Lepcis Magna," *JRS* 38 (1948) 62; and, most recently, Boon, *Roman Silchester* 91-92, who says: "The plan (of Silchester's Forum-Basilica, fig. 12 p. 91) outlined above is very reminiscent of that of the headquarters of a legionary fortress with its forecourt, cross hall and offices. Like most Roman-British *fora*, it was most probably derived from this model, through the agency of the military architects whose services seem to have been made available to the local government. A similar influence is seen in the case of the Public Baths."

113. G. Rodenwaldt, in *Cambridge Ancient History* 11.782, derives the design of Trajan's *forum* from that of the central section of a Roman camp.

114. Under Gallienus, or at least by Diocletian's reign, a style of imperial palace quite clearly based on that of the Roman camp came into use, the most impressive being at Spalato and other instances at Palmyra, Antioch, and Mogorjelo. See Rodenwaldt in the *Cambridge Ancient History* 12.568 and Robertson, *Handbook* 320-21.



## A PHLYAX VASE IN THE McDANIEL COLLECTION

BY ANNE BROMBERG

IN December 1957 a phlyax vase from the collection of Dr. Jacob Hirsch was purchased at an auction in Lucerne, Switzerland, for the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection in the Smyth Classical Library of Harvard University. The purchase was made with funds given by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel to supplement the material on aspects of Roman daily life which he presented to Harvard in memory of his wife. It is an outstanding addition to the collection, a good specimen, both in shape and design, of Apulian phlyax, and in a respectable state of preservation.<sup>1</sup>

The base is an elegant, compact bell krater, rotund, but neither squat nor slack. The strong, low base, a circle with tapering sides and a flat top, has a slightly indented reserved band at the upper rim. The bell rises in a firm, springy curve from the short foot to the lip. The loop handles, set diagonally against the body, turn slightly inward, and project exactly as far as the edge of the lip; a square between the affixes of each, as well as the inner surface of the loop, is reserved.<sup>2</sup>

The dimensions are: height, 29.2 cms.; diameter of mouth, 32.4 cms.; height of base, 3.4 cms.; diameter of base, 14.4 cms.; projection of handles, 4.2 cms.<sup>3</sup> No catalogue number has as yet been assigned to the vase.

The vase is unbroken, though there are minor cracks on the inner surface. There are irregular patches beneath the handles and in the field between the two draped youths, where the "glaze" has fired red rather than black. When acquired, the vase was covered with a cement-like limestone accretion; after this had been removed, the "glaze" was found to be chipped considerably around the lip and scratched on the base. There are a few small cracks in the "glaze" near the knee of the right hand youth, a chip on one handle, and worn patches on the reserved areas. The black "glaze" is glossy; the additional spots of yellow and white coloring are undamaged; and the scenes are well preserved.

There are border stripes under each of the figure scenes consisting of groups of three maeanders facing left alternating with single saltire crosses. A laurel wreath border and red reserved band run around the upper part of the body below the rim.

The reverse scene represents two young men standing directly on the border and facing each other. The one on the right is tightly wrapped in his himation; the other has the cloak over his right shoulder, while his left shoulder is naked, and he holds a straight stick in his outstretched left hand. Between them, just below the upper border, hang a pair of jumping weights (*halteres*), bottoms inward, which form a circular design. They symbolize a palaestra, and both the motif and the young men are a standard reverse found on many south Italian vases, with only a limited number of variations.

The setting of the major scene consists of a heavy strip, probably indicating a stage floor, framed to the left by a thin, stylized Doric column decorated with palm leaves beneath the capital, and to the right by a door surmounted by a plain pediment with acroteria and composed of two halves opening inward. Each half is divided by rows of black bosses into two panels, the upper ones carrying vertical door handles. An old woman with cap-like white hair and wrinkled mask face appears to run barefoot out of the door with outstretched arms. She is dressed in a gathered peplos which is bordered in black and has long sleeves. On the left, an old man with curly white hair and a snub-nosed mask, dressed in the phlyax padded tights (which indicate stage nudity), stands looking upward with Socratic resignation. Over the tights he wears a long-sleeved jacket which leaves his decidedly feminine sagging breasts bare, and a short, black-bordered cloak which he gathers over his left shoulder with his left hand, exposing the phallos beneath. Some round and long objects, colored yellow and white, are caught up in the fold of the cloak over the stomach. A white ribbon (*taenia*) hangs around his neck, and a dotted strip of cloth tied around his forehead binds his hair. He leans on a crooked stick held in his right hand. Above and between the figures hangs a comic mask, facing right, which has black hair bound with a white fillet, a snub nose, a balding forehead, and a pugnaciously pointed black beard.

The vase is Apulian and belongs to the Early South Italian group of red-figure vases which precedes the developed local styles — Apulian, Lucanian, Paestan, Campanian — of the fourth century. It has been attributed by Professor A. Trendall to a follower of the Sisyphos Painter, who should be associated with the group of the Tarporley Painter. The tradition of this group tends toward an unostentatious style, shapes like bell kraters or smaller vases, and scenes with only a few figures, unlike the other tradition, descended from the Sisyphos Painter — that of the Sarpedon and “Dionysiac” Painters — which created large, ornate vases with mythological scenes.

Trendall assigns to this painter or the group near him a krater in Würzburg, which has apparently not been published, but is said to show an old man and a warrior,<sup>4</sup> a vase in the British Museum, no. F 151, showing Cheiron's cure,<sup>5</sup> and a vase, once in the Caputi Collection and now in a private collection in Milan, which shows on one side Herakles mocked by satyrs as he upholds the heavens, and on the other the phlyax "Eaters of Dainties" scene.<sup>6</sup> On the Milan vase, the woman Charis has some similarity to the old woman of the McDaniel vase in the cap-like treatment of the hair, the double curved line of jaw and ear, the open-mouthed, jutting-chinned profile, the large hands, and the well-drawn drapery. The old man's face recalls the McDaniel old man, in mask type and in the curly hair and beard, as well as in the individual expressiveness of the mask, which is not pure grotesque. The door of the Milan phlyax scene is very similar to the McDaniel example except for the pediment; it, too, opens inward. The scene of master and mistress eating food while the servant steals a cake appears to take place inside, though the direction of the door opening would ordinarily indicate the opposite. Here the heavy strip is raised on supports, clearly indicating a stage.

British Museum F 151 is very close in shape and ornament to the McDaniel vase, with the exception of a patterned band around the handles. The stage is much more elaborate, having steps and a strut in profile for a backdrop, as well as a grotto to the side for the nymphs. With his crooked stick, his cloak held over his stomach in a muffled gesture, and his curly white hair, old Cheiron pushed up the steps by his comic attendants resembles the McDaniel old man. Though his mask belongs to the slightly different hook-nosed type, his face has an equally subtle expression. The balding, black-haired phlyax actor on the top step suggests the mask on the McDaniel vase in style, though again his mask type is different. He may also be compared with the slave Xanthias in the Eaters of Dainties. The profile (particularly the gaping mouth), the close-fitting hair, and the clinging, substantial drapery of the right hand nymph are like those of the old woman, though all the garments on this vase are fussier than those on the McDaniel. A peculiarly amiable expressiveness in the masks and compact forms with tidy outlines are common to all these vases.

The closeness of the McDaniel vase to the Tarporley Painter is particularly evident in the youthful draped figures on the reverse.<sup>7</sup> They have the pointed heads of his figures; their hair lies fringed along the cheek; they show long, slender body lines with an easy and unbroken stance and simple, rather flat, drapery. Delicate profiles — brow and

nose in one shallow curve, mouth a brief downward line — give their faces a lively conventionality. A very similar pair occur on the reverse of the Tarporley Painter's krater with actors holding satyr masks (Nicholson Museum 47.05); the heads resemble those of the McDaniel youths, the pose is identical and the himations are delineated in the same way.<sup>8</sup> A comparison with the youths from other vases attributed to this group emphasizes this similarity; on the other vases, the two figures do not have the distinctive pointed head or the simple himation folds, and their poses are elbowed, knock-kneed, or less assured. Often the composition is differentiated by other elements such as a column, two sticks, palmettes, or a javelin, and sometimes there are three figures.<sup>9</sup> T<sub>3</sub>, T<sub>8</sub>, T<sub>4</sub>, and V<sub>9</sub> in the Vatican collection show the range of variation. Like the Tarporley Painter, the painter of the McDaniel vase was capable of an elegant and simple presentation of an essentially monotonous motif.

The McDaniel painter tends to draw solider, neater forms than the Tarporley Painter, and to give less detail. The masks show the difference, for those of the Tarporley Painter have shaggier hair and less slick outlines. Nevertheless, in both painters, the treatment of nose and eye and mouth in profile, and the shape of the head, are similar. The Tarporley Painter's garments run to thinner lines and more of them, as those on the women in Hope 209<sup>10</sup> and Hope 212,<sup>11</sup> or on the old woman in the New York phlyax scene,<sup>12</sup> or on the Fury pursuing Orestes<sup>13</sup> demonstrate; this trait may be related to the long, swinging lines of his rather thin figures. The painter of the McDaniel vase draws more compact figures in broader strokes.

The McDaniel painter's solid drawing and relatively large forms can be compared with the work of the Tarporley Painter on the well-known New York phlyax. The McDaniel old woman, for instance, has less clumsy hands and a simpler head done in a few firm strokes, but perhaps a less imaginative malevolence, than the New York old woman. On the other hand, the stance of the barbarian on the New York vase resembles that of the McDaniel old man, while the same convention of jacket and bare bosom appears on the slave about to be whipped. On the whole, despite the thinner and more grotesque forms apparent on the Tarporley Painter's vase, the two are clearly not greatly dissimilar in style.

Neither the Tarporley scene, nor the British Museum and Milan vases, nor, in general, many of the phlyax theatrical scenes have the effective composition of the McDaniel scene, with its balance and its curving arc from column over heads to pediment, intersected by the



PLATE I. McDaniel Phlyax Vase: Obverse



PLATE II. McDaniel Phlyax Vase: Reverse

triangle capped with the mask. Most phlyax representations are more concerned with setting and theatrical action, however heterogeneous, and even with theatrical "atmosphere", such as an extra actor looking on the scene, than with aesthetic disposition of the elements involved, which may partly explain why the action of this scene is not, in fact, immediately intelligible.

The date, therefore, should be c. 400 B.C., or slightly thereafter, in the first quarter of the fourth century. The provenance is uncertain, but the workshop may have been at Tarentum.<sup>14</sup> Like the New York phlyax mentioned above, this is one of the first examples of such scenes with men in comic costume. These Apulian examples are superior to the others from south Italy, and compared to these last even the best Paestan examples, such as Assteas' Zeus and Alkmene, Apollo and Herakles, or Miser on a Chest, or those by Python, seem overdecorated and crudely proportioned, while the Campanian examples are often graphically as well as theatrically caricatures.<sup>15</sup>

The hanging mask and phlyax costume seem to identify the scene as a comedy. The heavy strip beneath the figures is not incontrovertibly an indication of a stage, but the fact that the column and door both stand on and frame it strongly indicates that it was so intended, particularly since virtually the same strip and door appear on the *Eaters of Dainties* vase above short supports which definitely represent a stage. Single masks do not occur above all phlyax scenes, and they do appear above Dionysiac scenes as well as above the theatrical ones, but in the former they are usually taken to signify that the men or satyrs in the scene are actors, or as a sign of Dionysos' patronage of the theater.<sup>16</sup>

The main difficulty with the setting is the door. Ordinary Greek house doors opened inward, as this one apparently does, and therefore the scene should be laid in the street outside a house.<sup>17</sup> Whether the stage convention in Greece and Italy followed ordinary usage has been much debated; that it did so has been strongly argued by Beare,<sup>18</sup> in opposition to the standard view that stage doors opened outward, which was set forth by Mooney in his work on theater doors. Actually this is an irrelevant problem for theatrical scenes on vases, since by convention both "indoor" and outdoor scenes would take place before the same stylized architecture, whichever way the doors in that backdrop opened. Though the *Eaters of Dainties* scene belongs inside a house, on the stage it would have been played outside a door which probably opened inward — as, indeed, it does on the vase. The real question is whether the vase painters were always so close to stage practice, or whether at times they showed a scene from a play in an approximation

of an ordinary house, since a real "indoor" scene would be possible on a vase, as it would not have been in the theater. The Apollo/Herakles phlyax scene must take place inside the temple at Delphi, but otherwise there is no way of determining whether a scene like this is meant to be an exterior one in the "street" of the stage, an interior one played outside according to stage usage, or a real interior. This uncertainty is a drawback in interpreting the scene, since the first impression is that the old woman is running out the door to greet the old man as he approaches the house door. If it takes place inside, her gesture may be a complaint, rather than a welcome.

While the masks on south Italian vases show a great deal of variation, T. B. L. Webster believes that they can be fitted into twenty-four mask types of Old and Middle Comedy which he has distinguished in Greece proper, chiefly Attica, with the addition of purely local types going back, perhaps, to the song-and-dance mimes of Epicharmos.<sup>19</sup> This assumes, as Webster has supported by a comparison of the monuments, that theatrical production in south Italy was fairly close, or parallel, to that of Attica. The old man has a common type of mask with white hair, snub nose, and full beard; compare the Miser on the Assteas vase,<sup>20</sup> the old man in the Birth of Helen,<sup>21</sup> and the Iolaos in the Leningrad vase of Herakles mocking Zeus.<sup>22</sup> It is to be distinguished from the hook-nosed old man, of which the British Museum Cheiron is a variant. The old woman belongs to the snub-nosed, wrinkled type with white hair, whose mainland type can be seen among the Würzburg and New York actor terracottas of the fourth century.<sup>23</sup> On the phlyax vases it can be seen on the priestess of the Assteas Ajax vase, in a less refined and more detailed shape. The balding, black-haired, long-bearded mask hanging above the scene is a recurring motif in Apulian and Paestan phlyakes, both as mask and as satyr head; for Paestan examples compare Naples 2873,<sup>24</sup> Madrid 11060,<sup>25</sup> Vatican 120.<sup>26</sup> Webster believes it to be an Italian type.

A domestic scene of this sort could belong either to Attic Middle Comedy, which seems to have been exported to Italy, or to the local Italian mime, with its caricature of everyday life. The objects which the old man carries in his cloak are probably food, perhaps stolen. They resemble in shape and coloring the objects, apparently fruit, which fall from the cloak of a running figure of an old man on a Boston gnathia vase, who undoubtedly is dropping his stolen goods as he escapes.<sup>27</sup> They also resemble the food eaten by Charis and Philotimides on the Milan vase. Eating and thefts of food are common in Middle Comedy, as well as in the riotous banquets of Old; compare Karion's theft of the pot in

the *Ploutos*. Of course, they are equally frequent in Plautus and Terence. Xanthias has stolen his cake on the Milan vase, like the Parasite pursued by an old woman on a Berlin phlyax vase,<sup>28</sup> and perhaps the slaves running with a huge roast on a vase in Leningrad.<sup>29</sup> The upward glance of the old man seems to indicate a guilty conscience, and the old woman may be remonstrating with him. Perhaps, like the enthusiastically devoted family of Philokleon in the *Wasps*, she wants a share of the booty, and his consciously resigned expression has more than a touch of Socrates before his demanding and greedy Xanthippe — a dubious welcome.<sup>30</sup>

Whatever its precise interpretation, the vase has the half-caught suggestiveness of ordinary people seen through the casually outrageous conventions of comedy. Caricature in the mimes and vase paintings of south Italy turned the quick, shifting flow of people in the street, hawkers and housewives, into wide-mouthed, winking, wrinkled, padded and phallic puppets, Rabelaisian on a petty scale, mechanically farcical. The commonest gestures become the unchanging head-knocking of Punch and Judy. Frozen in their argument of eagerness and greed, the old people, human as well as comic-strip, act out their trivial, eternal quarrel in satire's distortedly realistic masks.

## NOTES

I am greatly indebted to Professor A. Trendall for his suggestions on the attribution of this vase. Any errors made in elaborating his comments are, of course, my own. I also thank Professor G. M. A. Hanfmann for his helpful criticisms and suggestions.

1. A photograph of the vase, uncleared, and a description may be found in the catalogue of the Hirsch auction, *Bedeutende Kunstwerke* (Luzern/New York, 1957).

2. "Reserved", i.e., not covered with the black "glaze" and so firing red. For a discussion of the problem of red ochre wash (*miltos*) see G. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery* (1923), p. 53f. There is definitely a polished surface on the reserved areas of this vase, since it has worn away in places and the duller clay can be seen beneath. For a discussion of the nature of the black "glaze" see A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (1948), p. 4f. For red glaze see G. Richter in the *Annual of The British School at Athens*, XLVI.

3. Dimensions in inches:  $11\frac{5}{8}$ ;  $12\frac{1}{16}$ ;  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ;  $5\frac{11}{16}$ ;  $1\frac{3}{4}$ .

4. Würzburg 959 (H 4649); I was unable to get a photograph of this vase.

5. BM F 151: B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Vases in the British Museum*, IV (1896); M. Bieber, *A History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939), fig. 362; Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen* (1920), taf. 82; T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Theater Production* (1956), pl. 15b.

6. Milan Vase: H. Heydemann, *Vasi Caputi* (Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm, 1884); Bieber, *Theater*, figs. 23, 374; *Denkmäler*, 150ff., no. 121.

7. For works attributed to the Tarporley Painter and his followers, see A. Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen* (1938), 40f., and his brief discussion in the *Nicholson Museum Handbook* (1948), 320f.

8. Nicholson Museum 47.05: Trendall, *NMH*, 321f., pl. X.

9. Youths on reverses: Trendall, *Vasi Antichi a Dipinti del Vaticano*, Fascicolo I (1953), pl. XXIV.

10. Hope 209, now in Newcastle: E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (1923), pl. 30.

11. Hope 212, now in Newcastle: Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

12. New York 24.97.104: J. Beazley, *AJA* 56 (1952), 193f.

13. Oxford 1917.65: Tillyard, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

14. Provenance: Trendall, *NMH*, attributes this group to Tarentum, p. 322.

15. Phlyakes of Assteas: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (1936), p. 37f.; figs. 15-18; pl. IX; pl. X, c and e.

16. For masks on Dionysiac vases, see Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. XVIII; pl. XXd.

17. For house doors, see *Excavations at Olynthos* VIII: Robinson and Graham, *The Hellenistic House* (1938), Part IV, ch. V.

18. W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, appendix G, 275f.

19. For masks, see Webster, *Greek Theater Production*, 62f., 110f.; Webster, *JHS* 71 (1951), 22f.; Webster, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 32 (1949) 97f.

20. Miser: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. V.

21. Birth of Helen: Bieber, *Theater*, fig. 365.

22. Herakles and Zeus: Bieber, *Theater*, fig. 354.

23. Terracottas: Bieber, *Theater*, figs. 103, 122.

24. Naples 2873: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. IVa.

25. Madrid 11060: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. IXa.

26. Vatican 120: Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, pl. XVIII.

27. Boston 00.363: Bieber, *Theater*, fig. 376.

28. Berlin 3047: Bieber, *Theater*, fig. 375.

29. Leningrad phlyax: Bieber, *Theater*, fig. 378.

30. It is possible that the scene is a parody of some heroic *nostos*, perhaps that of Odysseus to Penelope, since Odysseus was a popular subject for comic parody in fourth century vase painting. The objects held by the man, however, should be the main point in establishing the nature of the scene, and they do seem to be food, or stolen goods.

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## ANCIENT LAMPS IN THE McDANIEL COLLECTION

BY DAVID GORDON MITTEN

THE McDaniel Collection of Classical Objects, given to the Department of Classics, Harvard University, by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel in memory of his wife, Alice Corinne McDaniel, contains a small collection of ancient terracotta lamps. No class of common objects preserved from classical antiquity, with the exception of coins, illustrates Greek and Roman domestic life so vividly and versatilely. The motifs on many molded lamps furnish valuable evidence for the study of ancient art, religion, sports, and daily life. Changes in shapes, decoration, glazes and slips, potters' marks, and fabrics shed important light on the still imperfectly known nature and extent of ancient industry and trade. Most immediately useful, perhaps, is the continuous change of style which ancient lamps have undergone throughout their development; this has given them an indispensable place among the major dating tools of classical archaeology. The McDaniel group includes examples of the most important Greek and Roman lamp types, as well as some unusual forms. Thus it provides an excellent sequence for following their structural and stylistic development from the sixth century B.C. through the beginning of the Christian era.

It is hoped that the following description of this small but representative collection of lamps may be an installment in a complete catalogue of the McDaniel Collection, which will make its resources for the study of classical archaeology more widely available.

The present catalogue has been arranged chronologically as far as possible; the dating generally follows Oscar Broneer's classification of the lamps from Corinth. With the exception of two unusual forms, the ten lamps illustrated in Plates I and II were selected as representatives of major types.

The writer greatly appreciates the advice and help which the curator of the McDaniel Collection, Professor Mason Hammond, has given in the preparation of this catalogue. Professor George M. A. Hanfmann has generously made available the well-classified collection of lamps in the Fogg Art Museum. The writer is also indebted to Professor Oscar Broneer of the University of Chicago for important chronological suggestions. The staff of the Fogg Museum photographic department

photographed the lamps, and the Fogg Museum registrar's office stored them during photography; their ready cooperation is greatly appreciated.

The earliest lamps commonly found on archaic Greek sites are well represented by no. 1, a simple, shallow, dish-shaped lamp with open oil reservoir and nozzle formed from the reservoir wall. Two crude varieties of this first type (nos. 3 and 4), with thick walls, squat bodies, and blunt, square nozzles, may be local imitations of a standard model. These lamps were wheel-made and changed relatively little throughout the classical period. No. 2 (see Pl. I) is a late fifth-century B.C. refinement of the simple wheel-made lamp, with a smaller reservoir hole, longer nozzle, raised base, and horizontal band handle. Other types of handle were also added, as illustrated by no. 5's lug handle.

Hellenistic wheel-made lamps (nos. 6 and 7) are often characterized by longer tubular nozzles (often flaring slightly at the end), vertical, grooved ribbon handles, and deeper reservoirs covered by a flat discus with a small central pour-hole. In the early second century B.C., molded lamps, originally similar to the wheel-made lamps, began to be manufactured, some with raised dots or pustules.

During the first century B.C., the Romans quickly turned to this faster, cheaper method of producing decorated relief lamps from molds; many of these were finely made pottery reproductions of elaborate metal prototypes. Especially characteristic of this style, which reached its height between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50, are molded leaf and palmette decorations above vertical pierced handles, as seen in no. 10. Common, too, during the early Julio-Claudian period are handleless lamps with elaborately decorated discuses and flaring or rounded nozzles flanked by volutes; nos. 12, 13, 14, and 16 illustrate several varieties of these lamps.

The most common type of Roman molded lamp of the late first through middle third centuries A.D. has a flat discus, frequently bearing figures or other decorations in relief, a vertically pierced handle usually incised with two grooves, and a rounded nozzle which gradually becomes incorporated into the rim of the lamp. Originally heart-shaped (no. 24), the nozzle becomes semicircular and finally fits like a keystone into the rim of the discus (no. 28).

The discus of this type, throughout this period, bears an almost infinite variety of relief scenes, from mythology, religion, contemporary art, amusements, and domestic life. Such motifs in lamps of the McDaniel Collection include a comic actor's mask (no. 25, Pl. II), an ivy-crowned head of Dionysus (no. 14, Pl. I), and Neptune with dolphin and trident (no. 13). Simpler decorative motifs — oak (no.

16) and laurel (no. 30) garlands, rosette (no. 12) and ray (no. 28) patterns — also occur frequently.

Two unusual lamps, classified with this type because of their similar pierced handles and discuses, have pear-shaped bodies with no distinction between nozzle and reservoir. One (no. 17) has three crudely modeled relief busts around the discus.

During the third and fourth centuries A.D., Roman lamp manufacture, following the general decline in artistic production, fell off in both craftsmanship and ornamentation. The earlier, finely made form gave rise to a slipper or lozenge-shaped lamp (no. 34, Pl. II) with a vertical unpierced lug handle which became more and more triangular. The leaf or garland motif around the rim degenerated into a sketchy, crude herringbone pattern which often extended into the nozzle area. Many lamps of this type bore Christian symbols. This type, persisting in altered form well into the Byzantine period, represents the final manifestation of the once skillful tradition of Roman lamp manufacture.

## CATALOGUE

No. 1. L. 0.07 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.02 m.

Reddish-buff clay, no slip. Raised base; spirals on foot indicate wheel manufacture. Dish-shaped reservoir with flat rim around wide opening. Nozzle is a wide, flat extension of the reservoir, with the wick hole perforating the wall.

Date: Greek, 6th century B.C. Similar to a long series of very early lamps of Broneer Type I at Corinth (Pl. I, 23-29, pp. 131-132). See also R. H. Howland, *Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, Pl. 31 (62, 77) and Pl. 32 (96, 98, 100-101).

No. 2. L. 0.06 m. W. 0.04 m. H. 0.02 m. (See Plate I.)

Lamp covered with dull black glaze, slightly pitted. Flat base with well-developed spiral marks on bottom, indicating wheel manufacture. Reservoir simple, like shallow dish, with gently curving sides and overhanging rim. Filling hole wide. The nozzle is a projection of the dish itself, square-tipped, with wick hole slanting down into the reservoir. A separately attached wide, round band handle is fastened horizontally to the reservoir rim, slanting slightly upward.

Date: Greek, early 5th to 4th century B.C. Similar to Broneer Type IV (5th century); see Broneer, p. 41, Pl. II, nos. 60, 64-66, 71, pp. 134-135, and Howland, Pl. 34, 160-161, 163, 166-167. Walters (pp. 36-37; Pl. IX, 192; Pl. XL, 40-41) dates this type in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

No. 3. L. 0.06 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.02 m.

Light buff-brown clay, no slip; surface charred near wick hole. Raised base; spiral marks on bottom indicate wheel manufacture. Bottom part of reservoir flares widely, then the shoulders curve upward to wide hole in top. Wide, blunt square-tipped nozzle; wick hole in side of reservoir.

Date: Greek, 3rd century B.C. This may be a local imitation of lamps like no. 1. See Walters, Pl. XL, 42; p. xxi.

No. 4. L. 0.06 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.03 m.

Buff reddish-brown clay without slip; charred around nozzle. Raised base with spirals of wheel manufacture. Reservoir walls thick and crude. Wide, blunt square-tipped nozzle; wick hole in side of reservoir. Similar to no. 3.

Date: Greek, 3rd century B.C. See Walters, Pl. XL, 43; p. xxi.

No. 5. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.04 m.

A label says: "Glazed lamp from the Forum, Palermo". The lamp is covered with a greenish-gold glaze faded and corroded to gray. Raised base with spirals on underside, suggesting wheel manufacture. Reservoir with curving sides, flat rim, incurving at edges, wide central perforation. Long, flat, triangular nozzle with long, diagonally pierced wick hole. A conical lug handle projects diagonally upward from rear.

Date: probably Hellenistic, 3rd to 2nd century B.C. The wheelmarks on the base, the simple lug handle, the nozzle form, and the glaze all suggest Broneer Types VIII-X, pp. 47-51, Pls. III-IV.

No. 6. L. 0.1 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.03 m.

Gray clay. Wide, almost straight-sided reservoir. Raised flaring rim. Flat disc top with central filling hole. Wide, vertical ribbon loop handle in rear, decorated with a single groove. Massive, long tubular nozzle with short, blunt ears projecting on each side of the hole. This may be an imitation of metal lamps with tubular nozzles.

Date: Hellenistic, probably late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C. Broneer (Pl. IV, no. 185) illustrates a close parallel from Corinth which he assigns to Type XII. Howland (pp. 112-115, p. 43, 481-485) dates this type to the 1st century B.C.

No. 7. L. 0.1 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.06 m. (See Plate I.)

Buff clay with dark brownish-black slip, missing on much of bottom and rear of reservoir. Wide, solid base. Rounded reservoir with wide filling hole and narrow, incurved rim, defined by a groove. Thick, vertical ribbon handle. Wide, deep nozzle, flanked by slight projections. This lamp is probably wheel-made.

Date: Hellenistic, 3rd to 2nd century B.C. Features in common with Broneer Types X, XII, Pl. IV, 163, 170, 185. Howland (p. 101, Pl.

42; 436, 442, 451) dates this form from the late 3rd to the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

No. 8. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.04 m. (See Plate I.)

A label calls this "Roman Red-Glaze Barbotine Lamp" Mold-made. Reddish-buff clay with shiny, light, brick-red glaze (soapy feel). Thick, small ring base. Reservoir and body covered with small, raised relief dots. Reservoir doughnut-shaped, deep compared to width. High, rounded rim. Depressed central discus with central perforation set off by a wide, raised band. Two smooth lugs on either side of body. High, ribbon-type, vertical loop handle decorated with two vertical grooves. Long nozzle, as deep as the reservoir, with flat top, flaring ends, and oblong wick hole. Small "air" hole just outside the rim. Glaze turned dark brown around wick hole by flame.

Date: Greco-Roman, late 2nd through 1st centuries A.D. Broneer (pp. 71-72, figs. 32-33) indicates that this lamp is descended from Attic barbotine forms (Type XX) of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. The side lugs, grooved handle, and "air" hole, however, indicate a possibility of even later date. See also Howland, Type 49 (Pl. 49, 664-665), 120 B.C.-12 A.D.; and Pls. 50 and 53.

No. 9. L. 0.08 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.055 m.

Red-buff clay with bright orange-red slip or glaze. Flat bottom. Reservoir deeply curved; shoulders slanting upward to central loop handle placed perpendicularly in the middle of the discus. Semi-circular indentation on right side of handle, defined by a groove. Wide, deep flaring nozzle.

Date: probably Roman; the shape of the handle and nozzle would suggest a date of 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D. for this aberrant form.

No. 10. L. 0.07 m. W. 0.03 m. H. 0.06 m. (See Plate I.)

A label says: "Miniature Red-Glaze Lamp — Hellenistic". There is a number "E 13" on the body. Red-buff clay with orange-red slip or glaze. Ring base with illegible potter's signature inscribed on bottom. Deep round reservoir. Depressed discus defined by four raised ridges. A vertical handle (perforated) protrudes from the rear at the level of the main lamp body. The top part is molded in the shape of a protruding leaf with an indented central rib and spirals on either side. Long nozzle with flaring end, flanked by two volutes; small air hole where the volutes separate. Traces of burning around nozzle hole.

Date: Roman, second half of 1st century B.C. This lamp belongs to Broneer Type XXI, which includes relief lamps patterned after elaborate metal prototypes (see Broneer, pp. 73-76; Pls. VII, 391, 400, 413; Pl. VIII). This is Loeschke's Type III (pp. 222-224).

No. 11. L. 0.103 m. W. 0.09 m. H. 0.03 m.

Orange-red clay with dark orange-red glaze. Wide, shallow ring base. Reservoir with curving sides. Two raised ridges define a flat discus with central filling hole. Wide, flaring spout with three small incised circles below reservoir rim; wide wick hole and end of nozzle charred. Small "air" hole at margin of reservoir rim toward nozzle.

Date: Roman, second half of 1st century B.C. The flaring nozzle, flat discus, and two projecting lugs on the reservoir sides assign this to Broneer Type XXI (pp. 73-74).

No. 12. L. 0.106 m. W. 0.08 m. H. 0.03 m.

Buff clay, dull, red-brown glaze or slip, mottled and running on underside. Slight ring base with indented bottom. Reservoir with steeply curving sides. Rim is a wide, raised ridge with a thin ridge on either side. Stamped four-petaled rosette of heart-shaped leaves. Tiny central performance; four smaller ones between the leaves. The nozzle is flanked by small, wide volutes and tapers rapidly to a small, round tip.

Date: Roman, second half of 1st century B.C. to early years of 1st century A.D. This can be assigned to Broneer Type XXI (pp. 73-76).

No. 13. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.02 m.

Reddish-buff clay with orange-red slip or glaze. Simple, flat bottom surrounded by groove. Reservoir with wide curving sides and flat rim. Two grooves enclose a slightly depressed central discus, stamped with Neptune standing, facing right, with dolphin in left hand and staff or trident in right. There is a perforation to the right of his knees. Wide, deep, rounded nozzle, flanked by fat volutes. Traces of burning around nozzle and some incrustations on the body.

Date: Roman, first half of 1st century A.D. Broneer Type XXII (pp. 77-78; Pl. VII) continues to the end of the century.

No. 14. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.03 m. (See Plate I.)

Light orange-buff clay with traces of darker orange-buff slip. Flat bottom defined by two grooves. Rounded, dish-shaped reservoir with curved sides. Three raised ridges define a depressed discus, with a stamped head of Dionysus (?) looking left, crowned with a garland of ivy leaves, and with the filling hole under his chin. Elongated nozzle flanked by short volutes; unfinished "air" hole between them on outside of rim.

Date: Roman, first half of 1st century A.D. Broneer Type XXII (p. 78), dated in the first half of the century. See also Walters, p. xxiv, Pls. XX-XXII.

No. 15. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.08 m. H. 0.05 m.

Buff clay covered with chocolate brown glaze or slip. Flat bottom, enclosed by a groove and bearing initials CPR (probably incised into clay

before firing). Reservoir with curving sides; two scalloped side lugs with radial incised lines in a sort of flattened palmette. Depressed discus decorated with concentric grooves and a zone of vertical rays. Filling hole slightly off center. Loop handle with two grooves and punctate dots at one end, separated from reservoir by a groove. "Air" hole toward nozzle. Nozzle wide and deep, separated from reservoir by a groove and flanked by two stubby volutes. Part of discus broken out. A label on reservoir says "L 11".

Date: Roman, early to middle 1st century A.D. This lamp would belong to Broneer Type XXIII, which is descended from Hellenistic types, but does not become common until the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. (Broneer, p. 79). The vertical handle would place this toward the end of the volute-nozzle style. The side lugs are elaborate versions of the early 1st century A.D. (Broneer, Pl. X). See also Walters, Pl. XLII, forms 81, 84; XXI, 756; XXIV, 752. Early to middle 1st century A.D.

No. 16. L. 0.13 m. W. 0.08 m. H. 0.05 m.

Buff (?) clay, almost entirely obscured by gray incrustation. Flat bottom enclosed by groove; longitudinal indentation in bottom. Sides of reservoir curved. Flat molded rim; decorated with wreath of alternating oak leaves and fruit (acorns?) in relief. Raised ridge surrounds deeply depressed discus and central filling hole. Broken hole toward handle. "Air" hole toward nozzle on rim. Nozzle flanked by two volutes which emerge from the decorated rim. Vertical, pierced handle. An inserted card says that this lamp came from Palermo.

Date: Roman, first half of 1st century A.D., probably second quarter. Broneer Type XXIII (p. 79, Pl. X, nos. 459, 463). See also Walters, p. xxiv, Pls. XXIV-XXV.

No. 17. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.05 m.

Boat-shaped lamp. Gray clay with dull, shiny, brick-red slip. No handle. Raised rim around depressed discus and filling hole. Much worn, indistinct head between discus and wick hole.

Date: Roman, second or third quarter of the 1st century A.D. See Broneer Types XXIV-XXVI, pp. 82, 86, 88.

No. 18. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.06 m. H. 0.05 m. (See Plate II.)

Light tan clay with traces of orangish slip, charred around wick hole. Flat bottom. Pear-shaped body, with nozzle an extension of reservoir itself. Vertical, pierced handle with two longitudinal grooves. Depressed discus enclosed by raised ridge and grooves; filling hole in center. Three crudely modeled female heads are placed at the corners of the lamp, surrounding the discus. Small "air" hole at edge of rim toward nozzle. Inscription CLOLDIA stamped on the bottom refers to C. Lollius Diadumenus. Similar stamps are on Walters nos. 772 and 1200 (see Walters, p. xxxix); they are described in *CIL*, XV, 6520.

Date: Roman; form of handle and style of relief heads suggest a possible attribution to the second or third quarter of the 1st century A.D. (Broneer Types XXIV-XXVI, pp. 82, 86, 88).

No. 19. L. 0.08 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.05 m. (See Plate II.)

Light buff clay, no slip. Mold-made, boat-shaped lamp with flat bottom; the flaring nozzle is an extension of the reservoir. An indented area in the reservoir top (corresponding to the usual discus) is triangular with a central filling hole and is defined by a groove. Below this is stamped a pair of bird wings (this degenerates into crude, vertical parallel lines in some other examples). The nozzle flares out into a convexly curved edge with fluke-like pointed horns on either side. The handle is vertical, pierced parallel to the reservoir edge; Professor Oscar Broneer has suggested in personal communication that this handle was adapted to being hung by a peg on the wall. M( ) is stamped on the bottom. Small perforation on side of neck near bottom on right side. This lamp seems to be a local development from the earlier lamp with flaring spout (Broneer Type XXII), common in the first half of the 1st century B.C.

Date: Roman, probably 2nd century A.D. This is supported by the dates of the potters' stamps on the bottoms; Professor Broneer confirms this (personal communication). The only near parallels are Walters, nos. 500 and 503, and Waldhauer, Pl. XI, no. 130.

No. 20. L. 0.08 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.04 m.

Boat-shaped lamp similar to no. 19, but more refined and carefully shaped. Light yellow-buff clay, no slip. Hollow stamp on bottom or incision in the mold has produced a raised cross or trident. A wing-like pattern is stamped between the nozzle and discus.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. See no. 19.

No. 21. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.04 m.

Light yellow-buff clay, no slip. Boat-shaped lamp, similar to no. 19. Wing motif below the triangular discus, flanked by two grooves. Bottom stamped C OPPI RES, referring to C. Oppius Restitutus.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. (see no. 19). Restitutus' stamp appears on lamps of other forms definitely dated to this period (Walters, p. xxxix; *CIL*, XV, 6593).

No. 22. L. 0.08 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.03 m.

Boat-shaped lamp similar to no. 19, but with cruder decoration and shallower reservoir. No depression, only shallow dip with filling hole. Grooves coarser, with dots at the ends; the "wing" motif has degenerated into five parallel vertical lines. Slight traces of burning on nozzle. On flat bottom, Q MUMMI CEL is inscribed between two dots. This refers to Quintus Mummius Celer (see Walters, p. xxxix).

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. (see no. 19) and potter's stamp; it appears to be a later degeneration of no. 19.

No. 23. L. 0.07 m. W. 0.05 m. H. 0.03 m.

Light tan or yellow-buff clay, no slip. Boat-shaped lamp similar to no. 19. Flat reservoir; central depression flanked by deep grooves flanked by punctate dots. There are five parallel vertical lines between the reservoir and nozzle. Stamped on the bottom is . . . . ABRICA GAI with a footprint below. This potter's stamp is not listed in Walters' catalogue.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D.; cf. no. 19.

No. 24. L. 0.06 m. W. 0.04 m. H. 0.03 m.

Brownish clay. Miniature lamp with deep, dish-shaped reservoir with curving sides, unpierced vertical handle, and heart-shaped nozzle. The rim slopes upward to meet a raised ridge enclosing a depressed discus. It is decorated with incised, stamped loops or tongues. The bottom was heavily gouged or broken before firing.

Date: Roman, late 1st century through first part of 2nd century A.D. The heart-shaped nozzle is an early form in the sequence of the encroachment of the nozzle on the rim in the late 1st century and first half of the 2nd century (Broneer, pp. 85-87).

No. 25. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.075 m. H. 0.05 m. (See Plate II.)

Buff clay with reddish chocolate brown slip. Flat bottom enclosed by groove. Dish-shaped reservoir, with two raised ridges enclosing the depressed central discus. The discus is decorated with an actor's mask stamped on the surface with long wig (shown by incised vertical lines) and exaggerated eyes and mouth. Filling hole to right of head, cutting off right tip of wig. "Air" hole at edge of discus. Rounded, semi-circular nozzle. C OPPI RES stamped on bottom; this refers to C Oppius Restitutus. See Walters nos. 473, 612, 684, 699, etc.; *CIL*, XV, 6593.

Date: Roman, last quarter of 1st century through first quarter of 2nd century A.D. See Broneer Types XXVI-XXVII, pp. 88, 96-98.

No. 26. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.04 m.

Light orange-buff clay with traces of reddish-orange slip. Slight ring base with two surrounding grooves. Curved rim with molded wreath or garland of trefoil-like blossoms tied at intervals. Low, projecting vertical pierced handle in rear. Shallow central discus with molded relief of a lion attacking a bull and central filling hole. Heart-shaped nozzle with some charring. CAESAE stamped on bottom; this refers to Lucius Caecilius Saecularis (Walters, p. xxxviii; *CIL*, XV, 6350).

Date: Roman, 2nd and early 3rd centuries A.D. Broneer Type XXVII, pp. 95-96; Walters, pp. 167-181; Pl. XXXIII, 1194.

No. 27. L. 0.04 m. W. 0.03 m. H. 0.02 m.

Brown-gray clay. Slightly sloping flat bottom. Miniature molded lamp. Reservoir almost straight-sided. Incurved, flat rim decorated with a frieze of incised circles and separated from a central filling hole by two grooves. Small, deep nozzle, separated from reservoir by grooves. Part of the central perforation and top of the vertical handle are broken.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. See Walters, p. xxv and Pl. XXIX; Broneer, Type XXVII, pp. 95-96.

No. 28. L. 0.14 m. W. 0.11 m. H. 0.05 m. (See Plate II.)

Buff clay with faded and chipped orange-red slip. Flat bottom with widely slanting sides; slanting rim stamped with scallops. Discus decorated with two surrounding raised ridges, then a band of parallel vertical incisions. Filling hole slightly off center and surrounded by ten stamped scallops similar to those on the rim. Smaller perforation to the left cutting into the inner raised ridge. Nozzle deep and narrow; inner margin decorated with a band of short zigzag lines. High vertical pierced handle with three incised grooves.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. Broneer places this lamp in his Type XXVII, Group I (see p. 188, fig. 112), which he dates in the early 2nd century A.D.

No. 29. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.04 m.

Dull brown-gray clay, no slip. Crude, flat, watch-shaped lamp with pierced vertical handle and heart-shaped nozzle. The reservoir has vertical edges, then a slightly upcurving rim, decorated with a zone of impressed ripple or zigzag lines. Four grooves enclose a very slightly depressed discus, with the filling hole slightly off center. "Air" hole on one groove toward nozzle, with an incised circle on the outer groove. Bottom enclosed by groove, impressed with phallus (three dots and a dash) and an inscription C IULI NICE, which refers to C. Julius Nicephorus (see Walters, p. xxxviii and no. 916; *CIL*, XV, 6495; XI, 6699, 106).

Date: Roman, third quarter of 1st century A.D. Broneer Type XXV (p. 85, Pl. XXXIII).

No. 30. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.8 m. H. 0.05 m.

Light buff clay with dark orange-brown slip, mottled and running. Similar in shape, molding, handle, and nozzle to no. 25. The discus is ornamented with a molded laurel wreath with string tie.

Date: Roman, last quarter of 1st century through first quarter of 2nd century A.D. See Walters, pp. xxv-xxvi; Broneer Types XXV-XXVII, pp. 85, 88, 96-98.

No. 31. L. 0.06 m. W. 0.04 m. H. 0.03 m.

Brownish-red clay with orange-red glaze. Miniature lamp. Wide,

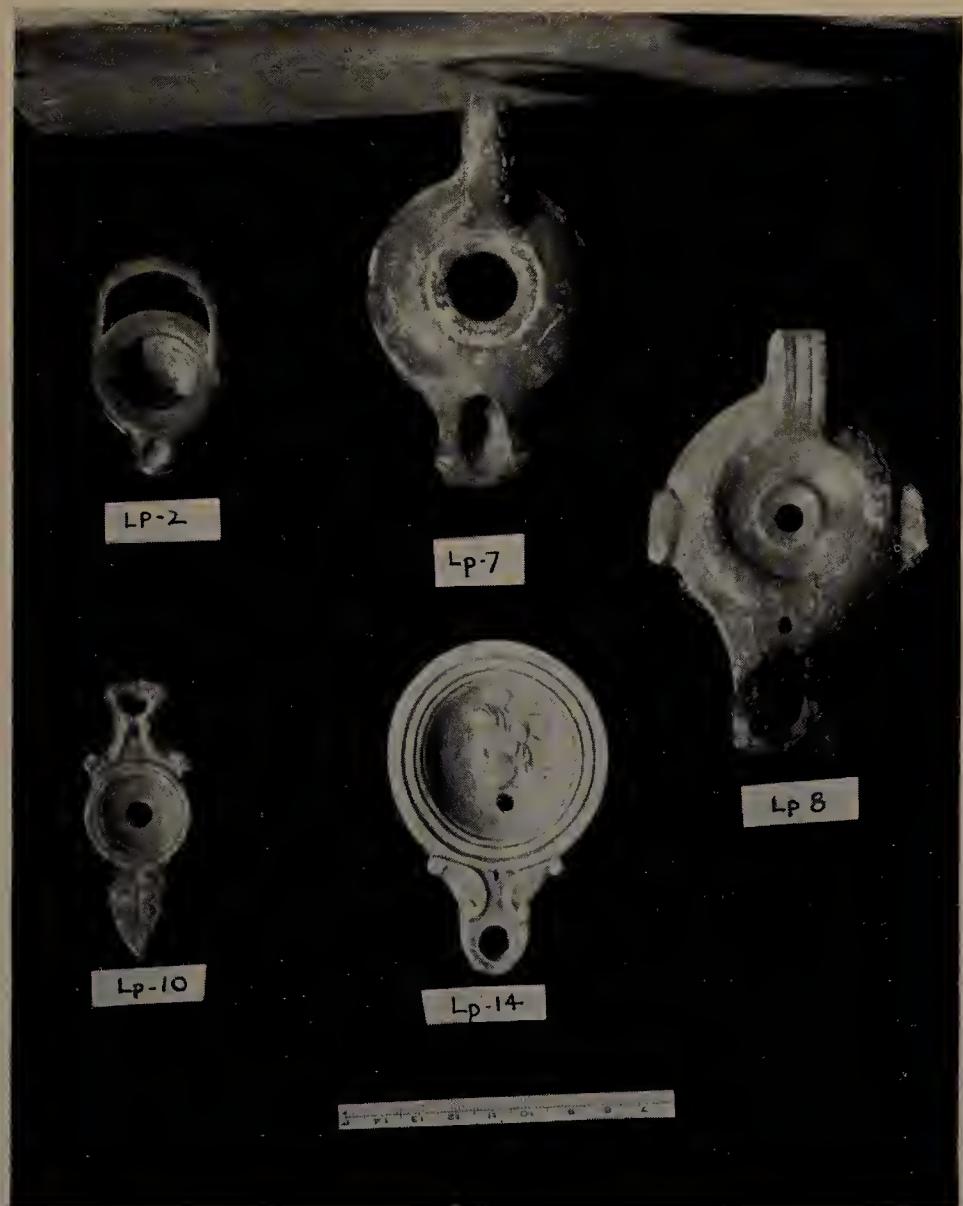


PLATE I. Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Lamps from the McDaniel Collection



PLATE II. Later Roman Lamps from the McDaniel Collection

raised ridge forms flat ring base. Round reservoir with discus enclosed by raised ridge. Circular nozzle, half included in lamp rim. Vertical pierced handle, incised with one groove.

Date: Roman, late 1st century into 2nd century A.D. Broneer Type XXV, pp. 85-87. Also see Walters, p. xxv.

No. 32. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.03 m.

Tan clay, covered with heavy gray incrustation. Reservoir with curving sides and raised molded rim. The rim decoration seems to be some sort of wreath. A raised ridge encloses the depressed discus, ornamented with a stamped design of a lion leaping to right, with a perforation through the right rear leg. Vertical pierced handle in rear. Semicircular nozzle.

Date: Roman, 2nd century A.D. See Broneer Type XXVII, pp. 95-96  
Walters, p. xxvi.

No. 33. L. 0.09 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.04 m.

Brownish-tan clay covered with uneven dirty brown slip. Flat bottom enclosed by groove. Reservoir has shallow curving sides, upward slanting rim; the filling hole is surrounded by a zone of carelessly impressed zigzag rays. The nozzle penetrates the rim, with dots at its two inner corners. Vertically pierced handle with two longitudinal grooves. The bottom bears a stamped inscription M NAE LUCI, which refers to L. Naevius Lucius (see Walters, p. xxxix; *CIL*, XV, 6573). A card says "Gift of Theodora Butcher, Sept. 1919".

Date: Roman, last quarter of 1st century and possibly earlier. See Broneer Type XXV, pp. 85-86 and Pls. XXIX, XXXI.

No. 34. L. 0.11 m. W. 0.07 m. H. 0.05 m. (See Plate II.)

Orange-red clay with brick-red slip. Long pear-shaped lamp with nozzle as a bodily extension of the reservoir. Vertical unpierced triangular lug handle in rear, rising above rim of reservoir; deep groove down middle. Reservoir has curved sides, inset and recurved rim with crude molded herringbone or garland pattern. Depressed discus elongated at handle and nozzle ends. Molded rosette in center with double concentric looped petals and irregular central perforation. Large "air" hole at nozzle end of discus. A channel from the discus leads to a nozzle with raised rim and large oval wick hole; there are heavy traces of burning around the nozzle end. The bottom is surrounded by grooves which mark off a depressed area bounded by ridges. Grooves extend up to the handle, flanking a central groove. There are two incised dots on the rim at this point and four on the ridge toward the nozzle. Degenerate palm motif on the bottom, flanked by incised L C.

Date: Greek or early Christian, from middle of 3rd century to beginning of 5th century A.D. See Broneer Type XXVIII, p. 114.

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SUMMARY OF A DISSERTATION FOR THE  
DEGREE OF PH.D.

FATHER JAMES ALOYSIUS PATRICK BYRNE —  
*Codices Recentiores of Aristotle's Metaphysics*\*

THE *Codices Recentiores* of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* have not been treated in detail either since Immanuel Bekker's recension or before that by any editor since the *editio princeps*. W. Jaeger (1957), W. D. Ross (1924), W. Christ (1885) use three of the *recentiores* to a very slight extent. H. Bonitz (1848) reproduces the catalogue descriptions of the MSS, and both he and A. Schwegler (1847) reprint Bekker's *apparatus criticus*. Bekker himself lists the MSS without description or evaluation, and builds his text upon Codices Laurentianus 87.12 (A<sup>b</sup>) Parisinus 1853 (E), and Vaticanus 256 (T). Besides T, he cites three Laurentian MSS — 81.1 (S), 87.18 (B<sup>b</sup>), 87.26 (C<sup>b</sup>) — and four Marcian MSS — 200 (Q), 211 (E<sup>b</sup>), 214 (H<sup>a</sup>), 206 (f) — all *recentiores*, the former for more than half, the latter only for the first two or less books, of the *Metaphysics*. Ambrosianus 365 F 113 (D<sup>b</sup>) is cited for the first page or so; Coislinianus 161 (I<sup>b</sup>), for Books B, M, and N, where it contains Syrianus' commentary. Parisini graeci 1876, 1896, 1901 (F<sup>b</sup>, G<sup>b</sup>, H<sup>b</sup>), cited by Bekker, contain not the *Metaphysics* itself, but Greek commentaries upon it. Brandis' edition (1823) was based upon A<sup>b</sup> and to a lesser extent upon E, though he was not explicit in his preface about the MSS used. Other pre-Bekkerian editors — e.g., Du Val (1619), those of the various Basileenses, even Sylburg — whatever claims they assert to having consulted MSS — are never explicit about the location or identity of them and in practice took over the text of the Aldina *princeps*, adding here and there their own or other scholars' emendations.

It is the object, then, of the present study to see whether the *recentiores* have any value independent of the *codices antiqui* A<sup>b</sup>, E, and J (Vindobonesis phil. gr. 100), and whether they record an ancient tradition. The MSS studied are Bekker's S, B<sup>b</sup>, C<sup>b</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>, H<sup>a</sup>, f (Bonitz' F), as well as Marcianus 205 (D<sup>m</sup> in the *catalogue raisonné* of Venetian MSS of Aristotle in preparation under the care of Dr. Elpidio Mioni of the University of Padua), and T.

\* Degree in Classical Philology, 1958.

The Marcian Codices belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. D<sup>m</sup> is assigned to the fourteenth century; E<sup>b</sup>, in the *Metaphysics*, to the thirteenth; most probably to the fourteenth. Q was copied for Bessarion at Rome by Johannes Rhosos in 1457, as was F also at Rome by Charitonimus Hermonymus in 1467. E<sup>b</sup> and D<sup>m</sup> have each been said to be the MS from which Bessarion made his Latin version of the *Metaphysics*, completed around 1450. All of Bessarion's codices have marginalia in his hand, giving evidence of a long-sustained interest in the *Metaphysics*.

The Marciani are not wholly unrelated to the Laurentian codices. D<sup>m</sup> and Q share some readings with the second hand of C<sup>b</sup>, a fourteenth-century MS, and all the *recentiores* of this investigation are allied to the tradition preserved in E and J. C<sup>b</sup> is closely allied to B<sup>b</sup>, also of the fourteenth century, and both these to S of the thirteenth. S was deposited in the Library of San Marco in Florence sometime between 1480 and the expulsion of the Medici in 1496, but it had been in Italy as early as 1303, as notes it contains state. It was copied by an otherwise unknown scribe, Johannes Panaretos. The Vatican MS, T, bears two dates — 1311–1312 and 1320–1321 — the earlier seemingly the date of the transcribing, the later, that of the corrections it shows.

H<sup>a</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>, D<sup>m</sup>, and B<sup>b</sup> do not betray their provenience. Favoring an early date for H<sup>a</sup> are the facts that it is of parchment and is written in double columns. E<sup>b</sup> has at the conclusion of the *Metaphysics* an epigram praising Aristotle; B<sup>b</sup> has frequent scholia from Asclepius and Alexander: both the epigram and the scholia can be indications of origin in the period of the renaissance in Greece under the Palaeologi after 1280. Q and F belong to the period when copyists were rather calligraphers than philologists and when book-production was philologically mediocre.

The MSS are studied in groups according to the libraries where they repose, for the groups in each library bear a family resemblance.

In the *Metaphysics* the Laurentian codices form a group by themselves, and B<sup>b</sup> and C<sup>b</sup> are closer to each other than either is to S. This can be seen by listing their textual divergences: the number of those in S from B<sup>b</sup> and C<sup>b</sup> is longer than that of B<sup>b</sup> from C<sup>b</sup>. The marginalia of B<sup>b</sup> and C<sup>b</sup> are the same throughout; S has only a few in common with them, comprising captions and section-headings. Yet, there are a few noteworthy vacancies common to the three MSS, and these are separated by such an interval as suggests that the common archetype contained approximately eighteen Bekker lines on each side of the folio or column. The titulature of the three MSS also agrees — excepting the conclusion of B<sup>b</sup>, which is in a later hand. At the end of Book Γ there is a scholion peculiar to these three MSS. S is a paper codex

in folio. Its text is not calligraphic. The first few folia show interlinear Latin notes translating the Greek words above which they occur. B<sup>b</sup> is also of paper, but is a quarto of 106 leaves, originally forming part of a larger book. The last two leaves are in a later hand than the rest. C<sup>b</sup> is of bombycine paper in quarto of 236 leaves; it contains the *Metaphysics* from f. 79. It has Greek and Latin scholia in the margins, the latter in the hand of Francesco Filelfo. One class of scholia was added by the scribe at the time of copying the text and agrees in every instance with the scholia of B<sup>b</sup> — not only in text but also in position so far as differences in format allow. A very few of these are in S also. Another class of scholia in C<sup>b</sup> is peculiar to Book A: it is in the hand of the original scribe but was added somewhat later than the copying of the text; it comprises notes based on Asclepius (Alexander) and several variants taken from the A<sup>b</sup> tradition; one variant agrees with H<sup>a</sup>. A table (pp. 20ff.) illustrates these scholia and the groups into which they fall. A second table (pp. 26ff.) shows the variants of B<sup>b</sup> from C<sup>b</sup> and serves to indicate that the resemblance of the two MSS, close as it is, is not caused by C<sup>b</sup> having its filiation from B<sup>b</sup>, but that both are derived from a common and not very distant archetype. B<sup>b</sup> deserts both S and C<sup>b</sup> in only five instances in Book A. A table of the singularities of S (pp. 29ff.) shows that these are mostly due to the scribe's haste or ignorance: he did not reread or correct his MS. And so when we find several readings peculiar to S that make fine sense, it is probable that these are from an ancient source; such are found 981b24; 990a25; 991b25 (cf. p. 35). A table (p. 35) notes corrections of Bekker's apparatus.

Among the Marcian codices, Q and D<sup>m</sup> are in the relation of copy to exemplar. This is easily seen from a collation of the two MSS. H<sup>a</sup>, E<sup>b</sup>, and F are closely related. In the *Metaphysics* E<sup>b</sup> is a thirteenth-century bombycine codex. Omissions and scribal idiosyncrasies are listed in a table (pp. 39ff.). A table (pp. 40ff.) shows those places where the scribe sought to bring his text by correction into conformity with the A<sup>b</sup> tradition. H<sup>a</sup> is a parchment codex, most probably of the fourteenth century, in large folio with text in double columns. It has some gaps and repetitions in common with F, to which in spots it bears a relation so close that it seems that F is partly a copy of H<sup>a</sup>. The recopying of a long passage in Book B, caused by the scribe's forgetfulness, shows that the text of F is eclectic; and this conclusion is borne out by other passages where F deserts H<sup>a</sup> for some other MS. F, therefore, is of small value indeed as a witness to the tradition of the *Metaphysics*. In two instances E<sup>b</sup>, H<sup>a</sup>, and F agree with Syrianus against all the other MSS: 1087b22 and 1088b8. There is, however, no consistent loyalty

to Syrianus evinced by these MSS. And it should be noted that they are allied to Coislinianus 162 (I<sup>b</sup>) and Mosquensis 6, which both contain Syrianus' commentary.

The question is raised whether D<sup>m</sup> and F are by the same hand, and whether, therefore, the dating of D<sup>m</sup> is to be altered from Zanetti's — fourteenth century — to the fifteenth. Zanetti's datings are unreliable in the case of other undated MSS. Certain external evidence is marshaled favoring the view that the same scribe copied F and D<sup>m</sup>. D<sup>m</sup> is, on the whole, a congener of the Laurentian MSS, but often agrees with T: it occupies a peculiar position between C<sup>b</sup>, specially, and T.

Vaticanus 256 (T), of bombycine paper in quarto, contains the *Metaphysics* from f. 1 to 218. Its peculiarities in orthography are caused apparently by carelessness; comparatively numerous are its singularities in word-order, omissions, and additions of small words and particles; these are listed in a table (pp. 60ff.). The orthography of T is better than that of the other *recentiores*. Since T seems to have corrected his work and some omissions remain, these may have been in his exemplar.

Some readings of the MSS are discussed and the conclusion is easily made that where the *recentiores* depart from the *codices antiqui* the result is not felicitous (except those noted, above, p. 261). Readings from Book A show that the *recentiores* continue to preserve the groupings in the latest books of the *Metaphysics* that they had formed in the earliest.

Plates are provided that show specimens of the handwriting and other peculiarities of the codices studied.







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